in the Carew Papers (ii. 361). And the point on which we question the topography of the book before us is the identification of the present Corporation House (once the Exchange) as the site of Lord Cork's famous Dublin house. We had imagined it running along the north side of Castle Street over against the Castle, with its garden bounded on the south by Copper Alley. But on this point we are ready to submit to such further evidence as Mr. Strangways, the author of the map, may possess. Gilbert we have learnt to distrust by long experience. We are also disposed to think that Chichester House was not the earliest mansion in College Green, but that Sir Toby Caulfeild's house on the rising ground (the Hogges) opposite it, and perhaps others, were earlier. Chichester seems to have been very extravagant in building residences. He had a splendid palace in Carrickfergus, described in the present book by several witnesses. He had another, of lesser size, in or at Belfast, and his property was so wholly northern that he must have lived there most of his time. But whatever doubts we have here, we have none regarding the statement as to the survival of wild red deer in Ireland. Mr. Falkiner thinks they still survive in Donegal. That is not so. Mrs. Adare has indeed restored Glen Veagh (glen of the deer) to its original condition in that respect. But the last wild red deer disappeared from Donegal long ago, probably a hundred years since. This we know from careful personal inquiry. In the Galtees there were recently wild fallow, and possibly a stray red deer. In Muckross, Killarney, they have never died out. In Galway and Mayo the last were killed, we believe, by the starving peasantry in 1847.

Perhaps some of the omissions of recent evidence which we have noticed result from this book being sent to press some time ago and not corrected up to date. Thus it seems amazing not to notice, in an account of Lord Chesterfield's famous avenue of elms in the Phœnix Park, that it was completely destroyed

6

this name belonged to the north-west tower, of which some vestiges still appear on the Ship Street side. But there is also a tower in the middle of the south wall, in which there is still a supper-room, which is given in the map, but does not belong to the old square castle with its four flankers or corner towers. We also wonder at the total disappearance of the north-east and south-east towers, and should have desired clearer evidence regarding the dimensions of the original enclosure. The fatal trial by combat between the two Irish chieftains, Conor M'Cormac O'Conor and Teig M'Gilpatrick O'Conor, witnessed by the whole Court, must have taken place in a smaller enclosure than the present Upper Castle Yard, to judge from the narrative

MONROE H. HANDLIN
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MR. C. LITTON FALKINER'S NEW WORK.

The author of "Studies in Irish History and Biography" has already well earned the distinction of being among the foremost living authorities on Irish social and political life in the past. The readers of that charming work will turn with keen expectation—an expectation that will assuredly not be disappointed—to the latest production of Mr. Falkiner's pen.

In dealing with the multitudinous phases of Irish history, the chronicler and the commentator is too apt—and perhaps not inexcusably so, for on Irish questions partisanship will always run high—to dominate his pictures with the hue of his personal prejudices and predilections. From this fault, at any rate, Mr. Litton Falkiner may, at once and freely, be absolved.

In the volume under notice he carefully steens clear of any arrogant assertions of private views upon subjects that are clearly and inevitably the ground of endless and acerbating controversy. He may have sinned slightly in this respect in his well-written preface, but in the work proper the individuality of the author is lost, and, as far as humanly possible, he presents, in the limits of his book, a series of graphic and most interesting miniatures of Irish life in the periods dealt with.

Mr. Falkiner is careful to point out that his choice of these national miniatures—if one may be permitted so to call them—has been largely, if not mainly, determined by two considerations, viz., either by their rarity or by their representative character. Now the rarity of a work does not necessarily imply any special degree of excellence. And the phrase, "representative character," must always depend for its interpretation upon the personal views and leanings of the writer.

It is a pity that Mr. Falkiner's selections are one and all from Anglo-Norman sources. Quaint and interesting, no doubt, they are, but the reiteration of the sneer and the jibe at the expense of the "mere Irish," that is so predominantly the feature of the selections that Mr. Falkiner, in the fulfilment of his plan, has made, is so manifest to the impartial reader that the wish naturally springs to the mind that a glimpse of the other side of the picture might be afforded, if only now and then, which would place the Irish, and not merely the Anglo-Norman, view before the public.

After all, the Irish element must count in any production pretending to deal with Irish history and Irish topography. But these are merely comments by the way.

All things considered, "Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, mainly of the Seventeenth Century" (published by Messrs. Longman, Green, and Company, Paternoster row, London, net price 18s.), deserves a cordial reception at the hands of the Irish reading public.

The title is a happy one. The book does not affect to be a review or a compendium of Irish life in the century concerned. It is merely a series of "illustrations"—illustrations suffering from the limitations to which we have already referred, but wonderfully vivid and interesting for all that.

The preface, in itself, is a notable piece of writing, unfolding as it does the mental attitude in which the author approached his task, and extending a hearty appreciation to the delvers that had preceded him in the same fertile field of historical research. Not the least earnest and sympathetic of these appreciations is that concerning the life-work of Thomas Davis, to whom the author pays the tribute that "there are still no better summaries of the main sources of knowledge, as there are certainly no more stimulating exhortations to the study of Irish history than are to be found in the essays of Davis."

In a necessarily brief review, such as this must be, there is no opportunity of dealing with the volume in detail. As the citadel of English rule in Ireland, Dublin Castle takes pride of place, the first chapter being devoted to its origin and development. Throughout the remaining pages it occurs and recurs—that sinister shadow that has blighted so many of the nation's fairest and dearest hopes.

Besides Dublin Castle, Part I., devoted to historical and topographical studies, treats of the genesis of the Phoenix Park, the career of the "Irish Guards" (which Irishmen prefer to call the "Irish Brigade"), the county history of Ireland, the woods of Ireland (just now doubly interesting because of the re-afforestation movement), the outline of the history of the Parish Church of the Irish Parliament (St. Andrew's), and a series of illustrations of the civic and commercial history of Dublin.

The latter is one of the most valuable features of the book. The subjects embraced are—1. The Origin of the Ballast Office and Port and Docks Board; 2. The Origin of the Chamber of Commerce; 3. The Aldermen of Skinner's Alley; 4. The Ouzel Galley Society.

Part II. is composed of contemporary accounts of Ireland in the seventeenth century.

The principal of these contemporary descriptions is that of Fynes Moryson, which just extended to about 115 pages. Old Moryson could write picturesquely, but the accuracy and the faithfulness of his work are open to criticism.

"A Discourse of Ireland, Anno 1620," by Luke Gernon, now published for the first time, is a curious literary mosaic, in which Ireland is treated as a maiden, and her charms set forth in terms of which her most devoted admirer cannot complain. Luke was a subordinate law officer in Ireland, and it need not be said that he carefully refrained from hurting the susceptibilities of his paymasters.

"Captain Josias Bodley's Account of a Journey into the Lacale of the County of Down in the year 1602-3" is a humorous morceau, given with all the freedom of language allowed in these years of grace. It is noteworthy in its way, and contains its own moral for anyone who takes trouble to find it. Captain Bodley was a brother of the famous founder of the Bodleian Library.

Three excellent and valuable plates add to the attraction of the work. The first is a picture of "The Walls of Dublin," drawn by Mr. Leonard R. Strangways, from all available authorities. Another is a map of Ireland in the sixteenth century, and the third is a picture of "Dublin in the Seventeenth

J B Hackett
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TO

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

PREFACE

Though the title of this volume is intended to indicate its limitations, it may be well, in order to avoid misconception of its modest aims, to state plainly in this preface its precise scope and purpose. It consists, as a glance at the table of contents will show, of two separate parts. Part I. comprises what, for want of a better distinction, must be termed a series of original papers. Part II. contains a number of accounts or descriptions of Ireland in the seventeenth century by seventeenth-century writers. The book has originated in the desire to realise for myself the social condition of Ireland at a period singularly pregnant of lasting effects upon her history; and I have ventured to think that some of the results of a study undertaken with that object may prove interesting to others. The difficulty I have experienced in finding the materials for my purpose has induced me to believe that a collection of some of the less accessible descriptions of Ireland for the period under consideration may not be unwelcome to fellow students in the same field.

In the papers collected in Part I., accordingly, an endeavour is made to illustrate the manner and degree in which the local and general history of the country are intertwined. Some of the associations which attach to particular buildings and localities are brought out in the papers on Dublin Castle and the Phœnix Park. The degree in which the progress of the constitutional and administrative history of the country, or the evolution of its social condition, has been governed by the accidents of its local development or of its physical characteristics is indicated in the papers on 'The Counties of Ireland' and 'The Woods of Ireland.' While in all the papers, but more especially in that on 'The Irish Guards,' I have been solicitous to show that Irish history is richer than we are apt to suppose in incidents and episodes which are interesting and attractive quite irrespective of those historical sympathies which are so commonly governed by our political predilections, and is adorned with episodes in which all parties may take pride. The papers on the 'Commercial History of Dublin' and 'The Parish Church of the Irish Parliament' are more limited in their scope than the rest; but they, too, touch points of interest which are common to all inquirers into the historical associations of the Irish capital.

It may easily appear impertinent to ask the attention of readers to such by-products of historical research as the papers printed in Part I. But it is hoped that no such objection will be raised to the contents of Part II. The narratives or descriptions selected from the numerous accounts of Ireland in the seventeenth century which have been left by travellers of the time are of course very far from exhaustive, but at any rate they are fairly representative. The choice of the descriptions printed has been determined mainly by two considerations, viz. either by their rarity or by their representative character. I have endeavoured to select descriptions which are at once little known and difficult of procurement by the ordinary reader, and which at the same time cover a fairly wide field of observation. It would have been a simple matter to make the collection for the earlier portion of the century much more complete. But such works as Barnaby Rich's 'New Description of Ireland' in 1610, and Lithgow's account of his 'Rare Adventures and Painful Peregrinations' in 1619, are too much encumbered by the theological controversies of the time to be appropriate to the design of this book. For the same reason the chapters 'Touching Religion' in the Fourth Part of Fynes Moryson's 'Itinerary' have been discarded. It is of course impossible that the impressions of seventeenth-century writers should fail to be coloured by the contentions of the time. Most if not all of these accounts reveal the prejudices of the writers. But of those which I have selected it can at least be said that the descriptive element predominates in all of them, and that the controversial motive is not the most conspicuous.

The systematic study of the social and topographical side of modern Irish history has not hitherto found many illustrators. And the materials for such a study are, with few exceptions, difficult of access to all but students, and little known to any but specialists in a department of inquiry in which specialists are few. For, though the importance of the local and antiquarian side of Irish history has been insisted on by more than one writer, not much has been done to exhibit the topography, the archæology, or the social development of the country in their proper relation to the general history of Ireland. To say this is not to ignore the value of the admirable work in both spheres which has enriched the publications of the various archæological and antiquarian societies. As the references throughout this volume will suffice to show, the Journals both of the Kilkenny and the Ulster Archæological Societies, to name only the two oldest of the provincial associations, abound in materials of real value and interest concerning the social state of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But, with the exception of the admirable chapter on Elizabethan Ireland with which Mr. Bagwell concludes his 'Ireland under the Tudors,' not much has been done to utilise this information for historical as distinguished from strictly antiquarian purposes. Perhaps the failure to do so is one of the reasons why works on modern Irish history fail to attract a wider public.

But, apart from this consideration, it is certain that the elucidation of the social and topographical history of Ireland has failed to keep pace with the growth of scientific archæology and the extension of antiquarian studies. No one who considers the point to which these studies had attained under the guidance of such writers as Ware and Petty can be satisfied with the progress made since their time in the spheres of their respective inquiries. Nor will a perusal of Bishop Nicholson's 'Irish Historical Library' make us entirely satisfied with the advance effected in the interval of almost two centuries which has elapsed since the publication of that meagre, yet still useful, analysis of the materials then existing for historical research. Sixty years ago there were signs of a genuine revival of interest in Irish historical studies. But the encouragement which historical inquiry seemed likely to receive from the Young Ireland movement was deprived of its principal impetus by the premature death of its founder. There are still no better summaries of the main sources of knowledge, as there are certainly no more stimulating exhortations to the study of Irish history, than are to be found in the Essays of Davis, whose fine historical instinct was seldom mastered by his political prepossessions. But Davis did not live to accomplish the work he planned, and little has since been done to give effect to his views.

The poverty of performance during the last century may conveniently be illustrated by considering the case of Irish county history. More than a century and a half has elapsed since the first formal history of an Irish County was presented to the public by Walter Harris, the well-known editor of Ware, in his account of 'The Antient and Present State of the County of Down,' published in 1744. Harris was a man of large aims; and though his actual performance was scarcely worthy of the magnitude of his conceptions, Irish archæology owes him a debt which has scarcely been sufficiently acknowledged. For although he was one of those men who are debarred either by an exaggerated fastidiousness or by constitutional indolence from doing justice to their capacity, he knew how to stimulate others to activity. It is interesting to recall the fact, honourable alike to the author who designed and the legislature which encouraged a scheme of research much in front of its age, that Harris was endowed by the Irish Parliament in 1755 with a pension to aid and assist him in his historical researches. Moreover a petition from him praying assistance for a projected history of Ireland was approved by a committee of the House of Commons, which reported in favour of the publication of the materials he had accumulated, and was willing to devote a sum of 2,260*l.* to that object—perhaps the earliest instance in the Three Kingdoms of state endowment of historical research. Yet although the history of the county Down was intended to be the first of a series of County Histories, the scope and plan of which were very deliberately formulated, and notwithstanding that an association known as the Physico-Historical Society was actually formed for the purpose of editing and publishing a complete set of County Histories, only a very few of the works thus designed ever saw the light. To Charles Smith, the energetic Secretary of the Society just mentioned, who may well be termed the pioneer of systematic local history in this country, we owe the admirable Histories of the Counties of Cork, Kerry, and Waterford, which, with all the limitations and defects of their design, are and will ever remain of the utmost value, not only as authentic pictures of those districts at the time when Smith wrote, but as preserving for us much traditional history which but for him must long ago have perished.

It is true indeed that the scheme of which Harris and

Smith were the principal supporters was not itself original, and that a project of a very similar kind had been conceived nearly three quarters of a century earlier. Connaught is scarcely the province which we should expect to find in the van in such inquiries. Yet it is to Galway and to a Galway writer that we owe the earliest known endeavours, if not towards a County History, at any rate towards a detailed description of a considerable section of an Irish County. That quaint but attractive blend of fact and fancy, history and romance, accurate topography and fabled story, Roderic O'Flaherty's 'Chorographical Description of West (H-Iar) Connaught,' was written as early as 1684, and is one of the few results of an intended undertaking designed to illustrate Sir William Petty's 'Down Survey' by a series of descriptive treatises. Besides O'Flaherty's work, however, only one other, the 'Description of the County of Westmeath,' has ever been separately produced, though a few of them survive in manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

These considerable and indeed ambitious programmes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not followed, as might have been expected, by any serious endeavour in the same direction. One side indeed of the work has been executed in a solid, yet scarcely satisfactory manner in the series of Statistical and Agricultural Surveys of the various counties of Ireland which were undertaken exactly a century ago under the auspices of the Royal Dublin Society. But the volumes of this series, though careful and often excellent as a record of economic facts, are, with few exceptions, sadly deficient on the side of history and archæology; and although the design was very systematically pursued through nearly a generation, from 1801 to 1832, as many as eight counties remained unnoticed when the last completed volume was issued. Since the date of these Surveys no really considerable systematic attempt has been undertaken in the sphere of Irish local history.

The contributions of the nineteenth century to Irish County History have not been unimportant; but they have been occasional and spasmodic. We have had such sumptuous and elaborate works as Mr. Evelyn Shirley's 'History of the County Monaghan'; such memorials of archæological industry and antiquarian zeal as D'Alton's 'History of the County Dublin'; and we have had histories of varying merit of sundry other Counties, such as those of Carlow and Waterford, Limerick and Clare. But with, perhaps, the exception of Mr. Hore's exhaustive 'History of the County of Wexford' now in course of publication, and of the learned 'History of the County of Dublin' which Mr. Elrington Ball has recently undertaken, there has been as yet no serious attempt to utilise the immense stores of information which, with the growth of systematic research, have become available in recent years for the illustration of local history. It has been reserved for the twentieth century to give effect to the ideals which O'Flaherty in the seventeenth and Harris and Smith in the eighteenth, with miserably inadequate resources, vainly strove to realise.

It is primarily with the object of calling attention to the inadequacy of the notice hitherto bestowed upon the local and social history of modern Ireland in the general histories of the country that the papers in this volume have been written, and that the narratives which are here reprinted have been collected together. Mr. Lecky, indeed, in the Irish chapters of his chief work, has dealt more fully than other writers have done with these topics, and has emphasised and illustrated their importance to a great extent. But no writer has hitherto provided us with anything in the nature of a detailed survey of this side of Irish history for a period earlier than the eighteenth century; and the lack of it is especially to be lamented in relation to the eventful chronicle of seventeenth-century Ireland. It is a favourite fashion with historians, though one of doubtful wisdom, to take some great landmark in the story of the period or the people under their review, and to label it as the point from which modern history begins. But, if such a practice can ever be justified, it is true to say of the seventeenth century that with it the history of Ireland as we know it to-day must start. Not merely is it from that point and from that only that the materials for a detailed analysis of the course of events are forthcoming, but it is from that period that we must date the original of the framework or anatomy of the social and political organisation of Ireland as we now know it. All the problems that Ireland presents, social and economic, religious and political, date from that period. And the problems present themselves in much the same aspects. In the reign of Elizabeth the great battle for supremacy between English and Irish ideas had been fought to a finish, which for at least three centuries was to be accepted as decisive. The tenure of land upon the basis of the feudal law of England, the supremacy of the reformed faith in the relations of the state to religion, the model of a dependent Parliament drawn in the main from the English elements in Irish society—all these are features which were to characterise Ireland for centuries, and which had not characterised her in anything like the same degree before the accession of James I. This volume has nothing to do with any such vexed questions; nor are those elements of Irish history into which questions of religion or politics are so easily and, indeed, so inevitably imported the matters with which this book is concerned. But the fact that these great and far-reaching changes in the constitutional and administrative structure of Ireland synchronise with the opening of the seventeenth century gives to the non-contentious aspects of the period a special interest and attraction, and justifies a greater degree of attention than has yet been bestowed upon the social condition of the country at the time.

The editorial paragraphs prefixed to the descriptions sufficiently explain both the authorship of each and the sources to which I have been indebted for information and assistance. But I must not omit to repeat here the expression of my particular obligation to Mr. Charles Hughes, the editor, and to Messrs. Sherratt and Hughes, the publishers of ‘Shakespeare’s Europe,’ for permission to utilise the portions of the Fourth Part of Fynes Moryson’s ‘Itinerary,’ first printed in that work. In the same connection my thanks are due to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who have allowed me to print from the original manuscript some portions of the ‘Itinerary,’ not included in ‘Shakespeare’s Europe,’ which appear to me to have special relevance to the topics with which this volume is chiefly concerned. Vol. I. of the publications of the Chetham Society is no longer copyright. But the Irish portions of Sir William Brereton’s ‘Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland, and Ireland,’ have not been utilised without the courteous acquiescence of the Secretary of the Society. In the same way, although the translation of ‘Bodley’s Visit to Lecale’ by the late Bishop Reeves was published as far back as 1854, I have not felt warranted in making use of it without the concurrence of the present conductor of the periodical in which it appeared. The frequent references in the notes indicate the extent of my indebtedness to the ‘Ulster Journal of Archæology,’ and my sense of the great value of its volumes to all who are interested in Irish historical topography.

For permission to use the map of ‘Ireland in the middle of the Sixteenth Century,’ which forms Plate XXX. in Dr. Lane Poole’s ‘Historical Atlas of Modern Europe,’ I have to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press. This map, which is reproduced here mainly for the purpose of illustrating the attempt made to trace the growth of the Irish counties, has been most kindly revised for this volume by the author, Mr. Robert Dunlop, whose minute and exact knowledge of the period is so apparent in many Irish articles in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

The map of 'Dublin in the Seventeenth Century' has been specially drawn for this volume by my friend Mr. Leonard R. Strangways, M.R.I.A. It is primarily, as stated on the face of it, an attempt to identify the streets of Dublin as depicted in the map drawn by Thomas Phillips in 1685,[1] which is in the collection of the Marquess of Ormonde and has been reproduced by Sir John Gilbert in the 'Calendar of Dublin Records,' vol. v. The map of 'The Walls of Dublin,' also by Mr. Strangways, though not originally designed for this volume, has been redrawn and revised for it. Maps such as these, which seek to reconstruct from imperfect records and traditions an obliterated past, cannot profess to represent all the details more than approximately. But those who are interested in Dublin topography will be no less grateful than I am to Mr. Strangways for placing the results of his patient investigations and special knowledge at the disposal of readers of this volume. Mr. Strangways desires me to express his indebtedness for much kind assistance in identifying localities to the Rev. C. T. McCready, D.D., whose 'Dublin Street Names Dated and Explained' contains so much information in so small a compass.

My manifest obligations to previous writers on the same subjects are acknowledged as far as possible in the references to authorities which are given in the notes. But no one working in the field of Irish local history, and more particularly of Dublin history, can omit a tribute to the value of the life-long labours of two distinguished students of our history and topography. The indefatigable industry of the late Sir John Gilbert has immensely enlarged

[1] See the *Ormonde Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 309–313.

the materials at the command of every student; and Dr. P. W. Joyce, dealing with a remoter past, has made contributions to the antiquarian side of Irish history which are quite indispensable to all who follow him. Finally I desire to acknowledge the assistance so freely accorded to me at all times by the Deputy-Keeper and the officials of the Irish Record Office, whose courtesy and learning have so often mitigated the labour of research in connection with more than one of the papers in Part I. The kindness of Mr. F. Elrington Ball in reading the proof-sheets is only the last, and perhaps the smallest, item in a series of obligations too numerous for acknowledgment at the end of a preface already lengthy.

C. Litton Falkiner.

Killiney, Co. Dublin: *August* 1904.

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PART I

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

I

HIS MAJESTY'S CASTLE OF DUBLIN

THE earliest mention of the fortified stronghold of English power, so often referred to in the Irish State Papers of the Plantagenets as 'his Majesty's Castle of Dublin,' is to be found in the records of the reign of King John, and is just seven centuries old. Whether the actual site of the Castle had been occupied by a fortress, and had served as the seat of government prior to the year 1204, it is now impossible to determine. How far the Plantagenet castle can be fairly identified with the earlier stronghold known to have been erected by the Danish sovereigns of Dublin is one of those questions which, since they can never be positively answered, it is profitless to discuss. On this point all that can be affirmed is, that the probabilities of the case favour the supposition that the site of both edifices was the same. That the walls of the mediæval city were first raised in the Dark Ages by the founders of the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin, is a point not open to controversy. The physical configuration of the rising ground to the south-east of the city walls, must at all times have suggested that eminence as the most suitable site for the guardian fortress of the city. And all authorities are agreed that a fort was erected by the Danes,[1] about the middle of the ninth century, in close proximity to the walls. Thus it may well be that the 'battlements of the watch tower,' from which King Sitric followed the varying fortunes of the fight at Clontarf, rose from the self-same spot from which for seven centuries his Majesty's Castle of Dublin has been the sentinel of royal authority in Ireland.[1]

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[1] *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 840.

But if the Danish fortress had once occupied the site, it no longer stood there in 1170, when, at the bidding of Strongbow, Myles De Cogan and his comrades first entered Dublin. It had been destroyed after the battle of Clontarf, and no new building seems to have replaced the old in the interval that parted the exit of the Dane from the coming of the Norman. The accounts of the taking of Dublin by Strongbow's followers are silent as to any such protracted stand as must have been expected of its defenders, had a fortified citadel barred the eastern entrance to the city against the Norman knights. And there is no mention of any such stronghold in the narrative of the negotiations between Earl Richard and King Roderic O'Conor when, a few months after its capture, the city was blockaded by that monarch and his allies. When, therefore, Henry II., arriving in Dublin in November 1171, built, as Roger de Hoveden tells us, 'a royal palace roofed with wattles after the fashion of the country'[2] in which to spend his Christmas, he occupied in all probability the deserted site of the dismantled Danish stronghold. Henry's palace was situate, according to the chronicler, 'near the Church of St. Andrew the Apostle, without the city of Dublin.' As the old Church of St. Andrew stood close to the eastern corner of the modern Palace Street, hard by the entrance to what is now the Lower Castle Yard, the king must thus have fixed his quarters as nearly as possible on the actual spot on which thirty years later his son caused the Castle to be built.

Up to this point the history of the Castle, or rather of its site, rests only upon conjectures which are necessarily inconclusive. The chronicles of the first thirty years of Norman rule add nothing to our knowledge. Richard I. cared little for a country which had become the appanage of his younger brother, and there is nothing to connect the prisoner of Durrenstein with the Castle of Dublin. But with the opening of King John's reign the story can be placed on the firm basis of authentic record. An entry in the Close Roll for the year 1204 is the first extant document in which the Castle is mentioned. It contains the King's directions to his deputy or justiciary in Ireland, in response to a representation by the Viceroy of the lack of any depository for the safe custody of the royal treasure, and its most important passage runs as follows:—'The King to his trusty and well-beloved Meiller, the son of Henry, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting: You have represented to us that you have no place wherein treasure can be safely kept; and forasmuch as for this as well as for sundry other reasons we are in need of a strong fortress in Dublin, we desire you to cause a castle to be built in such place as you may judge to be most suitable both for the administration of justice and, if need be, for the defence of the city. You are to make it as strong as possible, with substantial fosses and strong walls. But you are first to build a tower to which a castle and keep can afterwards be conveniently added at leisure.'[1] The mandate, after permitting the Justiciary to appropriate a sum of three hundred marks, then due to the Crown, to the initial expenditure on the building, directed him to require the citizens, if necessary by force, to strengthen the defences of Dublin. It may be that the establishment of a fair at Donnybrook, sanctioned by the King in the same document, was intended as a set off or compensation for the military outlay thus charged on the city.

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[1] Maelseachlainn's *Description of the Battle of Clontarf*; *Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gaill* (Rolls Series), p. 255.

[2] Roger de Hoveden's *Chronicle* (Rolls Series), ii. p. 32.

Meiller Fitz-Henry to whom this document was addressed was at this time the representative of the Crown in Ireland. He was a first cousin in blood to the Sovereign, and had been among the most distinguished of the friends and followers of Strongbow. *Indomitus domitor totius gentis Hiberniæ*, so ran the concise epitaph in which his career is epitomised.[1] Of his appearance and character, his relative Giraldus Cambrensis has left a vivid description,[2] in which affectionate admiration of Fitz-Henry's valour is not unmixed with discriminating censure of his lack of discretion. No one, however, could have been better qualified to exercise the latitude left him in the royal letter as to the choice of a site for a castle intended for the defence of the capital. For the soldier whose prowess at the raising of the siege of Dublin thirty years before is commemorated by Maurice Regan as the most admirable among many exhibitions of martial valour[3] must have been thoroughly acquainted with the military needs of the city. Fitz-Henry had been appointed justiciary at King John's accession in 1199, and he held the post until 1208. His tenure of authority thus lasted long enough to have enabled him, had he been expeditious, to commence the building of the Castle, though it can scarcely have permitted of his making substantial progress with the work. Most probably he confined himself to the erection of the tower which John had desired him to begin with. Though neither tradition nor record now connects the name of Meiller Fitz-Henry with any part of the actual structure, it is evident that to him belongs at least the honour of having selected the site; even though the chief fame of the actual building of the Castle is rightly assigned to another of John's justiciaries, the well-known ecclesiastic, Henri de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin.

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[1] Close Roll, 6 John, m. 18. Printed in *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland* (Rolls Series), p. 61.

But by whichever of King John's representatives the foundation stone was actually laid, it is plain that the building of the Castle was a matter of serious interest and concern to the Sovereign, and that to no one can the title of founder be more properly ascribed than to King John himself. The instructions to Meiller Fitz-Henry indicate the active interest of the monarch in a building with the surroundings of which his own early residence in Ireland had made him familiar. And within a very few years of these instructions the exigencies of Irish affairs gave John an opportunity of observing for himself how far his orders had been fulfilled, and of personally directing the further progress of the building. In 1210, for the first time since his accession, the King visited Dublin. There is nothing to show whether it was within the precincts of his intended fortress that the King received the submission of the Irish chiefs who attended in the capital to do him homage. But his attention must necessarily have been drawn to the desirability of pushing on the work, and it is certain that the royal visit had not long concluded before Henri de Londres was vigorously proceeding with the building.

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[1] Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, p. 48.

[2] *Giraldi Cambrensis Expugnatio Hibernica* (Rolls Series), pp. 235, 324–5.

[3] A prose version of Regan's Chronicle, &c., was printed in 1747 by Walter Harris in his *Hibernica* from an abstract by Sir George Carew. The chronicle, or rather poem, has since been edited by Mr. Goddard H. Orpen, under the title of *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (Oxford, 1892).

Of the active part played by this eminent prelate and Viceroy in the construction of the Castle we get not a few glimpses in the records of his government. The State Papers show that Ware does not at all exaggerate in attributing to the Archbishop a principal share in the erection of the building, and they prove that the attention of the Archbishop was not so wholly engrossed with the constitution of the Cathedral Chapter of St. Patrick's as to leave no time to the Viceroy to superintend the building of the King's principal residence. Ware's account is that Henri de Londres 'caused the Castle of Dublin to be builded, some say at his own proper costs,'[1] and he elsewhere states that 'the same year that Henry Londres died, being the year 1228, the Castle of Dublin was builded: I mean the walls four-square or quadrangle-wise, but the four turrets and the other afterwards.'[2] The State Papers show that, on his appointment to be justiciary in 1213, the Archbishop received a patent for the custody of the King's Castle of Dublin during pleasure.[3] Though no details are given of the works executed by Henri de Londres, their importance is indicated by sundry grants[1] made to him in compensation for damage done to the Archbishop's churches in Dublin in fortifying the Castle;[2]—while the completion of the walls in accordance with the tradition preserved by Ware, as well as the actual appropriation of the fortress to defensive purposes, is evidenced by an inventory of military stores kept in the building in 1224.[3] The last indication of the Archbishop's interest in the Castle, which the State Papers disclose, is one more appropriate to his ecclesiastical character. There can be little doubt that the nomination, in 1225, of William de Radeclive 'to minister as chaplain in the King's Castle of Dublin, and to receive of the King's gift during pleasure fifty shillings yearly,'[4] was not made without the recommendation or concurrence of the masterful ruler of the see of Dublin.

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[1] Ware's *Annals*, p. 27 (edition of 1705).

[2] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 5.

[3] Sweetman's *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1172–1251, p. 79.

Whatever the solicitude of the Archbishop in these matters may have owed to the initiative of King John, these latter proofs of it were of course given not in John's reign, but in that of his more ecclesiastically minded successor. Though Henry of Winchester found no time in his long reign for a visit to Ireland, he appears more than once to have contemplated such a journey; and several of the State Papers of his reign prove that he was far from indifferent to the becoming equipment of his only Irish residence. In 1237 the King gave elaborate directions to prepare for his coming into Ireland.[5] And in 1243, while in France, where the presence in his army of a very large Irish contingent may have turned his thoughts towards his Irish dominions, King Henry wrote from Bordeaux to his Justiciary and Treasurer in Ireland, directing them 'that out of the King's profits they cause to be constructed in the Castle of Dublin a hall one hundred and twenty feet in length, and eighty in breadth, with glazed windows after the manner of the hall of Canterbury, and that they cause to be made in the gable beyond the dais a round window thirty feet in diameter.'[1] They were further directed 'to cause to be painted beyond the dais' the King and Queen sitting with their baronage, and to make a 'great portal' at the entrance of the hall; the whole to be completed by the King's arrival.

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[1] Sweetman's *Calendar*, 1172–1251, pp. 120, 126, 187.

[2] Like compensation was given to the Prior of the Holy Trinity (Christchurch) for rents lost through the fortification of the Castle, and it is obvious that the Cathedral precincts must have been seriously affected by the building of the Castle. See App., 27*th Report of Deputy Keeper of Irish Records.*

[3] See also entries in Pipe Roll of 19 Henry III., Irish Record Office.

[4] Sweetman's *Calendar*, 1172–1251, p. 198.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 360.

But by far the most characteristic memorials of this Sovereign's connection with the Castle are those which are associated with the chapel. The entries under this head supply fresh illustrations of the splendours of Henry's munificence to the Church, and of the sincerity of the devotion to the memory of Edward the Confessor, which marked the pious builder of Westminster Abbey. Not only were directions repeatedly given to the Archbishop of Dublin to make more suitable provision for the Castle chaplain by attaching a benefice to the office, but express instructions were given by the King as to the services to be held.[2] The chapel was dedicated to the Confessor, and in 1240 the Feast of St. Edward (January 7) was ordered to be celebrated with eight hundred lighted tapers 'as well in the Saint's Chapel in the King's Castle of Dublin, as in the Churches of St. Thomas the Martyr and of the Holy Trinity.'[3] The Castle was ordered to be filled on the same occasion with poor people, who should be fed. Two years later the Treasurer received directions to cause glass windows to be made for the chapel,[4] and the King gave orders that Divine Service of St. Edward and of the Blessed Virgin should be daily celebrated. The orders regarding the chapel were perhaps carried out at once, since the piety of the King would probably have enforced them; but the hall was still unfinished in 1246, when Henry peremptorily required its completion in view of an immediate visit. The Mayor of Dublin was called on in the same year, and in view of the same occasion, to supply water to the Castle from the city conduit.[5]

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[1] Sweetman's *Calendar*, 1172–1251, p. 389.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 255, 305, 328.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 373.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 385.

Historic and Municipal Documents, p. 105.

Judged by the proper standards of kingly greatness Henry III. scarcely ranks high in the roll of English monarchs. But no other sovereign has had anything approaching either to his knowledge of architecture or to his love of it. However fortunate for the realm the change from his pious æstheticism to the vigorous authority of the great man of action who succeeded him, the archæological interest of Dublin Castle certainly owes nothing to Henry's son. The Hammer of the Scots cared little for the sculptor's mallet. And although for at least eighteen years before his accession Edward I. had held the title of Lord of Ireland and absorbed its surplus revenues, he never found time to attend to its affairs. Thus the interest in the royal residence which Henry's care had aroused in his subordinates was naturally not exhibited by the ministers of his son. In what manner the chapel and hall so splendidly designed were ultimately erected it is now impossible to ascertain. But it seems at least clear that they were not completed according to Henry's plan. It was one of the charges brought against Stephen Fulburn, Bishop of Waterford, in 1286, that during his tenure of the office of justiciary he had carried off the pillars of marble from the King's hall in Dublin Castle to enrich Dunbrody Abbey.[1] A few years earlier the building had suffered some damage and the gate tower had been burned by Hubert de Burgh, and some others who were confined in the fortress as prisoners; whilst the defences had been altogether neglected. When, therefore, a few years after the accession of Edward II. the troubles of the Bruce invasion made it necessary to look to the defences of the Castle, the building already stood in much need of repair. So imminent was the peril that it was found necessary to take down the belfry of the closely adjacent church of St. Mary le Dame to provide stones for fortifying the Castle, and the citizens of Dublin were called on to find lead for the roof of the towers.[2] When the danger was over some care seems to have been taken to restore the edifice to a more seemly condition, and the considerable sum of £700 was spent on the Castle in 1321, particularly in 'repairing handsomely the great hall.'[1]

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[1] Sweetman's *Calendar*, 1285–92, p. 13.

[2] *Historic and Municipal Documents*, pp. 339, 405.

For fifty years from the Bruce invasion the King's Castle of Dublin received little of the attention of its royal owners; and indeed for a full century and a half from the accession of Edward III. it was 'toward Namancos and Bayona's hold' rather than to their realm of Ireland, that the looks of the English sovereigns were chiefly bent. Towards the close of his reign, however, Edward III. was able to spare time from his French enterprises to the necessities of Ireland, and to note how seriously his dominions had been shrinking at home, while he sought to extend them abroad. His son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, entered in 1361 on the viceroyalty which was made memorable by the Statute of Kilkenny. The advent of a prince of the blood royal did something to arrest the ruin which was fast overtaking the monuments of Henry III.'s zeal and piety. A considerable expenditure was sanctioned for putting the Castle in order, and for restoring the chapel, and providing it with the equipment adequate to a becoming ritual.[2] But the improvements of Lionel were not limited to these restorations. Not only do they seem to have included a number of alterations designed to make the dwelling more commodious, but in the language of King Edward, Clarence 'caused to be made divers works agreeable to him, for sports and his other pleasures, as well within the Castle of Dublin as elsewhere.'[3]

It is disappointing that the records of the only sovereign prior to Victoria who ever came twice to Ireland as a reigning monarch are silent as to the visits of Richard II. to his Castle of Dublin. Neither the Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland for the sixteenth year of Richard's reign, nor such records as remain of that unhappy monarch's second stay in Ireland, make any direct mention of Dublin Castle, though the Council must have sat within its precincts, and though the extensive repairs ordered, as we have just seen, in the time of the King's uncle, Lionel, ought to have left the building in fair order for his residence. It is doubtful, however, whether much had been effected by Clarence. 'Because our Castle of Dublin through the negligence of our servants, who should have repaired the same, is so destroyed and wasted, and in many places threatened with very great ruin that our Deputy of Ireland cannot hold our great Council there, nor can he entertain our Parliament summoned for the morrow of All Souls' Day, nor can our Records be safely preserved there.' So runs an entry in the Close Roll for the fourth year of Richard's reign. But though it is doubtful whether the orders issued to remedy this state of things in 1381 were more effective than those of the preceding reign, the great hall had been sufficiently renovated in 1385 to enable Sir John Stanley to be sworn in there, in presence of a distinguished company, as Deputy of Robert de Vere, 'Earl of Oxford, Marquis of Dublin, and Duke of Ireland,' who had just been appointed Lord-Lieutenant.

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[1] Close Roll, 14 Ed. II., Irish Record Office.

[2] In the enumeration of the glass windows, pictures, images and other accompaniments of Divine worship, ordered on this occasion, the Castle chapel is incidentally described as under the patronage of St. Thomas the Martyr. Whether or not the dedication to this saint was prior to King Henry III.'s direction that the chapel should be devoted to Saint Edward the Confessor does not clearly appear.

[3] Gilbert's *History of the Viceroys of Ireland, with Notices of the Castle of Dublin*, pp. 219, 544–6.

The records of the Lancastrian kings are as barren as those of their immediate predecessors. Their all but total silence betokens the neglect which the few stray entries that appear attest. Early in 1427 it was ordered that an ancient silver seal found in the treasury, 'being cancelled and of no use to the King,' should be sold, and the money accruing from the sale laid out on the repairs of the ruined windows of the hall of the Castle, and five years later twenty marks were allocated to the same purpose.[1] Even so much as this could not be spared in the remainder of this reign, and the dilapidations were rapidly aggravated. Down to the middle of the reign of Henry VI. the Deputy and his Council still met within the

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[1] Gilbert's *Viceroys*, p. 580.

Council Chamber in the Castle. But at the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses all the interior buildings of the Castle had gone to wrack and ruin, while even the massive walls erected by Henri de Londres had begun to suffer from persistent neglect, and showed the wear and tear of over two hundred winters.[1] On the accession of Edward IV. the disrepair could not longer be overlooked. An Act of Parliament, after reciting that 'Whereas the Castle of the King our Sovereign Lord of his City of Dublin, in which the Courts of our said Sovereign are kept, is ruinous and like to fall, to the great dishonour of our said Sovereign Lord,' provided that certain moneys out of the profits of the Crown should be delivered yearly to the clerk of the works for the repair of the same. The same Act further directed that 'all the leads of the isles of the hall of the said Castle be sold by the Treasurer of Ireland to make and repair the said hall.'[2] This Act, however, remained inoperative until, twelve years later, a further enactment made better financial provision for the needful works. But it is doubtful whether any restoration had been effected ere, not long afterwards, considerable injury was done the Castle in the course of an insurrection promoted by the followers of the Earl of Kildare. An Act of the Irish Parliament at Trim gives us the last reference to the Castle which the statutes or records of the Plantagenet kings contain. Reciting that James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham, had fortified the Castle, of which he was constable, against the King's Viceroy, Henry Lord Grey, and the better to defend himself had destroyed the drawbridge, it directs the Prior to repair the damage before the ensuing Christmas on pain of forfeiture of his office.[3]

The earliest Tudor reference to Dublin Castle is to be found in the diary of the 'Voyage of Sir Richard Edgcumbe into Ireland in the year 1488,'[4] and occurs in connection with the ecclesiastic just mentioned. Keating had been among the most prominent of the Irish supporters of the pretender Lambert Simnel, the troubles arising out of whose imposture were the principal occasion of Edgcumbe's mission. Sir Richard seems to have thought, not unnaturally, that one who had twice gone into rebellion was no fit guardian for his master's principal fortress in Ireland. He accordingly 'refused to take either homage or fealty of Justice Plunkett and the Prior of Kilmainham, who were specially noted amongst all other chief causes of the rebellion.' And although the importunities of the Earl of Kildare prevailed on Edgcumbe to pardon Keating's comrade in disloyalty, he could not be persuaded to overlook the Prior's repeated offences. At a meeting of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal held in 'the Church called our Lady of the Dames,' in the immediate vicinity of the Castle, he answered their entreaties for mercy, according to the 'Chronicle,' with 'right sharp words. . . . And ere that he departed unto his lodging, he took with him divers judges and other noblemen, and went into the Castle of Dublin, and there put in possession Richard Archiboll, the King's servant, into the office of the Constable of the said Castle, which the King's grace had given unto him by Letters Patent; from the which office the said Prior of Kilmainham had wrongfully kept this said Richard for the space of two years or more.'[1] The fact that during his stay in Ireland Edgcumbe lodged at the Monastery of the Black Friars, on the opposite side of the river, where now the Four Courts stand, and that the consultations with the Irish Council were held not in the Castle, but in the neighbouring Church of St. Mary le Dame, is eloquent of the disrepair into which the royal residence had fallen.

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[1] *Proceedings of Privy Council of England*, cited in Gilbert's *Viceroys*, p. 581.

[2] Statute 2 & 3 Ed. IV. cap. 4.

[3] Acts of Parliament at Trim, 1478. Act 12, quoted in Hardiman's 'Statute of Kilkenny,' *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 85.

[4] Printed in Harris's *Hibernica*, Dublin, 1747, p. 29.

For nearly fifty years, from the visit of Sir Richard Edgcumbe in 1488, to the rising of Silken Thomas in 1533, the records are silent as to episodes of interest in the story of Dublin Castle. For the greater part of this period the government was in the hands of the Earls of Kildare, who were more concerned for the safety of their own strongholds in the adjacent country than for the security of the nominal seat of their government. So weak were the defences that the O'Byrnes—those continual scourges of the southern borders of the Pale—could enter the Castle by night and carry off a number of prisoners.[1] It was ominous of the rising that not long afterwards occurred that in 1533 the Deputy conveyed all the King's ordnance out of the Castle into his own country, and fortified all his castles and fortresses with them. 'What this should mean,' wrote the priest who sent this intelligence to England, 'I know not as yet, but I think no good; for it is a shrewd likelihood.'[2] It proved fortunate for the safety of Dublin in the ensuing insurrection that the Deputy omitted to take away the ammunition at the same time. As John Alen, the Irish Master of the Rolls, wrote to Thomas Cromwell at a critical period of the siege by Silken Thomas, 'the rebel, which chiefly trusteth in his ordnance, which he hath of the King, hath in effect consumed all his shoot, and except he winneth the Castle of Dublin he is destitute of shoot, which is a great comfort and advantage for the King's Army.'[3]

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[1] *Sir R. Edgcumbe's Voyage* (Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 34).

It might naturally be supposed that the formal assumption by Henry VIII. of the title of King of Ireland, and his resolution to assert the authority of the English Crown throughout the country, must have led almost of necessity to a renovation of the Castle, and a revival of the tarnished glories of the early Plantagenet age. But this was so far from being the case, that the period immediately succeeding marks, perhaps, the nadir of the splendours of the Castle as a royal residence. The Tudor viceroys do not appear at any time to have taken kindly to their quarters. It is obvious from the preceding narrative that upon many occasions in its later mediæval history the Castle can have been in no fit state to accommodate a royal or viceregal Court. Although at no time in its long annals did the Castle cease to be the centre of authority, and though in theory at least it was always regarded as the principal official dwelling of the deputies, the representatives of Henry VII. and his successor took every opportunity of residing elsewhere. The deputies of Edward VI. never lodged within its walls. Towards the close of the fifteenth century the Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr in Thomas Court began to be used, as has been seen, for the meetings of the Viceroy and his Council. By the time of Sir Richard Edgcumbe's visit[1] it had been thus used so often that the principal room had acquired the name of the King's Chamber. The dissolution of the monasteries struck a heavy blow at the prestige of King John's Castle. The Priory of Kilmainham, becoming vested in the Crown, was at once recognised as a convenient appanage of the Sovereign, and was utilised accordingly for the principal State functions. The dissolution of the Cathedral Chapter of St. Patrick's by Edward VI. provided an opportunity, which was quickly seized, to find more desirable lodgings than either Castle or Priory appears to have afforded. The Chapter having been suppressed, it was evident that the Dean had no further need of his residence. This was accordingly assigned to the Archbishop of Dublin, who was desired to evacuate the Palace of St. Sepulchre's, which became a place of lodging for the Lord Deputy. And although in a very few years this arrangement was upset, under Queen Mary, by the restoration of the Cathedral and its dignitaries to their former status, the Deputies were slow to surrender the footing they had acquired in the archiepiscopal palace. Sussex, Sidney, and others of the deputies of both Mary and Elizabeth, were so fond of coming to St. Sepulchre's that an Archbishop of Dublin, who found their visits inconvenient, is said to have actually fired his palace 'that the Deputies should not have so good liking to his house.'[2]

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[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 169 (1834).

[2] Letter of John Deythyk, *ibid.* p. 181.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 202.

Whether on account of this summary process of the Archbishop, or because with the final confirmation of the Cathedral in its position by Elizabeth it became difficult any longer to ignore ecclesiastical rights, the accession of Elizabeth was quickly followed by the return of the Viceroys to the Castle, and its consequent restoration to a condition of appropriate magnificence. In 1558 Sussex received directions to take in hand the repair of the Castle. But this Viceroy had been succeeded by Sir Henry Sidney before any effective steps had been taken, and it is to the latter statesman that the honour of repairing and enlarging the Castle has been properly assigned by Ware. 'The Castle of Dublin, which before his coming was ruinous, foul, filthy, and greatly decayed, he repaired and re-edified, and made a very fair house for the lord deputy and the chief governor to reside and dwell in.'[1] Such is Stanihurst's account of a restoration of which the Deputy appears to have been not a little proud. Sidney's improvements took several years to effect, and were on a considerable scale. They were crowned in the eyes of the citizens of Dublin by the putting up of a conspicuous clock, perhaps the first public clock erected in Ireland (though others were placed almost contemporaneously over the Ostman's gate and at St. Patrick's Cathedral); and in Sidney's, by a Latin inscription over the gateway, in which the restoration was suitably recorded.[2] The stone containing Sidney's verses has been long since defaced and removed, though the verses themselves have been preserved for us by Stanihurst. But the letters of Strafford contain a very charming reference to them, and attest the admiration felt by the most powerful of Stuart Viceroys for the most eminent among his Tudor predecessors.[1]

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[1] *Sir R. Edgcumbe's Voyage*, *loc. cit.* p. 32.

[2] Holinshed's *Chronicles*, vi. p. 28.

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[1] Ware, following Stanihurst, says: 'Sir Henry Sidney is said to have builded the inner lodgings.' Stanihurst's words are 'ampla et praeclara aedificia in castello extructa erant.'—*De Rebus in Hibernia gestis*, p. 22; Holinshed's *Chronicles*, vi. p. 403.

[2] Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
  Laudis et in chartis stigmata fixa manent,
Verum Sidnaei laudes haec saxa loquuntur,
  Hic jacet in solis gloria tanta libris.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
  Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaque si pereant, non ergo saxo peribunt,
  Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minime consumitur aevum,
  Quod cum principio, sed sine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dum vivere possunt,
  Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent;
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet aevum,
  Laus tua, Sidnaeus, digna perire nequit.—
Stanihurst's *De Rebus in Hibernia gestis*, p. 22.

Of the actual outward appearance of the Castle in early times it is difficult to form an accurate conception. Sir John Gilbert justly observes that no precise details have been transmitted to us of its architectural design ; nor have any of the older historians or antiquaries given us, otherwise than parenthetically, any glimpse of its interior. To attempt to reconstruct the Castle from the stray references which are to be found scattered through the State Papers and other documentary sources would be an exercise of the historical imagination in which fancy must needs play a larger part than fact.[2] There exists, however, one document which defines with some detail the condition of the towers of the Castle, and the accommodation provided within them, in the time of Sir John Perrot's government, or about twenty years after the extensive improvements effected by Sir Henry Sidney. From this paper, which was probably drawn up in connection with the rearrangements which Perrot designed to carry out but did not effect, a good deal may be learned as to the defences of the Castle in the reign of Elizabeth.[3]

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[1] I confess (wrote Wentworth, in 1633, to Sidney's grandson, the Earl of Leicester) I made a fault against your noble grandfather by pulling down an old gate within the Castle of Dublin, wherein was set an inscription of his in verses; but I did so far contemplate him again in his grandchild as to give him the best reparation I could, by setting up the very same stone, carefully taken down, over the new one, which one day your lordship may chance to read, and remember both him and me by that token.'—Strafford's *Letters*, ii. p. 168.

[2] So far as the writer has ascertained there are only two printed representations of the external appearance of the Castle. The representation of Sir Henry Sidney setting out on a State progress, which forms Plate VI. in Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, shows the entrance gate of the Castle with the adjacent houses. An illustration in Brooking's map of Dublin indicates that the building still retained a castellated appearance as late as 1728. In the accompanying map the outlines of the walls and towers as they stood towards the end of the seventeenth century are correctly represented, but it is not possible to fill in the details of the picture.

[3] It has been printed in full by Sir John Gilbert in his *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, ii. pp. 558–61.

The walls, described by Ware and other authorities as standing foursquare and built very strongly, had in Perrot's time a strong tower at each corner. Besides these there was a fifth, much smaller than the rest, in the middle of the south wall. The entrance gate, which opened into Castle Street, was flanked on each side by a tower less strong than the others, but of considerable proportions. The gateway, defended by a portcullis, opened on to a drawbridge which when drawn up left this building entirely cut off from the adjacent city. A moat, or gripe, which ran by the walls completely surrounded the Castle, following perhaps on the south and west walls the course of the Poddle River. Of the four principal towers, two, the north-east and south-west, seem to have contained five rooms each. The south-east and north-west towers had each three rooms, and in the middle tower on the south side there were a like number. The gate towers contained but two rooms each. The towers do not seem to have been very well lighted. There were several rooms with no windows other than the 'spicks,' or loopholes, intended for defensive purposes. The north-east tower, in which the Deputy seems to have had his private rooms, was the only room in which the windows were at all numerous. There were at least eight windows among the five rooms in this tower. But in the south-east tower there were no more than two. On the other hand 'spicks' were fairly numerous, and the total of the windows and spicks in the whole Castle was at that time above fourscore.[1]

But Sidney's improvements, though they were evidently considerable, and seem to have provided the actual official accommodation which sufficed for the Viceroys for above a century from his time, do not seem to have remedied the most serious inconveniences of the building. By the end of Elizabeth's reign matters were nearly as bad as they had been before his time. When Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in an unhappy moment for himself, was designated Viceroy, directions were given to prepare the Castle for the fitting reception of one whom the Queen, at that time, still delighted to honour. But considerable difficulty was experienced in providing becoming accommodation. The truth is that the Castle at this time was utilised for several purposes of public utility little consonant with the amenities of a viceregal residence.

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[1] For information as to the state of the Castle towers forty years after Perrot's time, see the Survey by Pynnar, p. 38 *infra*.

It has been justly remarked by Walter Harris, in the excellent account of the Castle with which his 'History of Dublin' opens, that the building is to be considered in a threefold aspect: as a fortress erected for the defence of the city; as the royal seat of Government; and as the place where the courts of justice and High Court of Parliament were wont to be held. But this description of the triple function served by the Castle down to Tudor and even Stuart times is far from exhaustive. Within its precincts room was found in addition for the Exchequer and Treasury of Ireland, and for the Mint of Dublin, as well as for the State records of which the Castle so long remained the principal, if not the sole, depository. And it further served the purpose, more easily associated with a feudal fortress, of a prison for offenders against the State.[1] However successful Sidney may have been in providing actual house accommodation, he had been unable to make any fundamental alterations in the structure. His work was a restoration in the strict sense of the term. Even in the reign of James I., forty years after Sidney's improvements, the great exterior walls and towers erected by Henri de Londres still preserved their original appearance. An accurate observer in that reign noted that 'the circuit of the Castle was a huge and mighty wall, foursquare and of incredible thickness,'[2] which dated from King John's time. In Sidney's day, as we learn from the grimly realistic plates in Derricke's 'Image of Ireland,' the battlements were still garnished with the grinning heads of decapitated chieftains. And the gaol, known as the Grate, was thoroughly insanitary. A prisoner's recollections of his place of confinement are of course apt to be coloured by ineffaceable resentment; but there is no reason to question the substantial accuracy of the description given of the Grate by Dr. Creagh, the Roman Catholic Primate, who was confined there in 1564. The prison, according to this authority, was 'a hole where, without candle, there is no light in the world, and with candle (when I had it) it was so filled with smoke thereof, chiefly in summer, that had there not been a little hole in the next door to draw in breath with, my mouth set upon it, I had been perhaps shortly undone.'[1] After Sidney's time Perrot was authorised, in 1583, to remove both the courts of law and the prison from the Castle, but he seems to have found it impossible to procure the necessary accommodation elsewhere.[2] And the same difficulty was experienced in the time of Essex. It is not surprising therefore to find the Castle described in 1607 as 'somewhat noisome in the summer time by reason of the prison.'[3] Constant representations were made by the Deputies as to this unpleasantness, and also as to the danger caused to the courts of law, which had been restored to the Castle under Sidney, by reason of these being situate immediately above the store of ammunition; and a very serious explosion of gunpowder which occurred on the adjacent quay in 1596 caused great and general alarm. In 1610, as appears by the surveyor's accounts at the Irish Record Office, a summer house was built in the gardens and the great hall repaired against a marriage feast, held in January of that year. It was not, however, until 1611 that Sir Arthur Chichester, the vigorous Deputy of James I., procured the erection of an exterior gaol for ordinary criminals, the principal State offenders being still confined in the Castle, but separated from the Deputy's lodging. Through the instrumentality of the same Deputy the courts were removed about the same time. But the Castle still remained the scene of the meetings of Parliament. In 1613 the Hall was fitted up for the meeting of the two Houses.[1] But although the Castle was put in order again for the benefit of Sir George Carew, who came over to report on the state of affairs in Ireland in 1611, no real improvement was effected, in spite of an expenditure of 600*l.* Chichester after several vain attempts to procure an improvement in the domestic accommodation—the mending of holes in the roof in Lady Chichester's bedchamber is one of the items in an account of expenditure by Samuel Molyneux, Clerk-General of the Works in 1616—had declined any longer to reside within the precincts, and had taken up his abode in the recently built Cary's Hospital, which later gave place to the Parliament House.

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[1] See as to these aspects of the Castle, Appendix I., p. 27 *infra*.

[2] See Gernon's *Discourse of Ireland*, Part II. *infra*.

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[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, i. p. 49.

[2] *Cal. S. P.* (*Dom.*) Feb. 22, 1564.

[3] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 381.

The next to take in hand the work of restoration was the Deputy Falkland, father of the gallant Lucius Cary. In 1620 this Viceroy apprised the Council 'that of late part of the Castle and the roof of the Council Chamber and several lodgings over it'[2] had fallen to the ground. Four years later, 'on May 1, in the morning, a day of great expectation of a universal massacre, one of the two greatest towers of the Castle fell down to the ground, with the ordnance mounted on it,' and shook to its foundations a great part of the wall. Falkland succeeded in getting authority to carry out repairs, and an expenditure of 1,000*l.* was sanctioned to restore the tower. His reforms were considerable.[3] In a letter to his successor, Strafford, he takes full credit for them, calling on Strafford for 'the performance of your promise you made me that when you found how much less a prison the Castle was through the benefit of a gallery I built, not more for the King's honour than for your ease and delight, you would acknowledge that you did owe my act commendation and due thanks for the service.'[4]

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[1] *Account Roll of Samuel Molyneux, Clerk-General of the Works*, 1610–1616, Irish Record Office.

[2] *Cal. S. P.* 1615–25, p. 294.

[3] In 1624, by Falkland's directions, Captain Nicholas Pynnar—the same who undertook the well-known survey of Ulster in 1619—made an 'exact survey' of the Castle of Dublin and certified the cost of the necessary repairs, See p. 38 *infra.*

[4] Strafford's *Letters*, i. p. 102.

Of this gallery a picturesque description survives in the 'Travels of Sir William Brereton,' whose diary of a visit to Dublin in 1635 supplies one of the few detailed notices of the appearance and accommodation of the Castle in early Stuart times which remain extant.[1]

Strafford, however, does not seem to have been so much impressed as Falkland expected. In one of his earliest letters from Dublin he described the building as in great decay, and urgently calling for repair. One of the great towers had to be taken down, lest it should fall, as another had done shortly before Strafford's arrival, while Lord Chancellor Loftus was in residence as a Lord Justice; four or five of whose grandchildren it would have 'infallibly killed,' had it fallen either an hour sooner or an hour later. In a vigorous representation to the English Council of the pressing need for repair and improvement Strafford draws for us the most detailed picture we possess of the interior of the Castle precincts at this time:—'I have bought as much more ground about the Castle as costs one hundred and fifty pounds, out of which I will provide the House of a Garden and out Courts, for fuel and such other necessaries belonging to a family, whereof I am altogether unprovided, the bake house at present being just under the room where I now write, and the wood rack put full before the gallery windows; which I take not to be so courtly nor to suit so well with the dignity of a King's deputy; and thus I trust to make this habitation easeful and pleasant as the place will afford. Whereas now by my faith it is little better than a very prison.'[2]

Of the alterations made by Strafford no record is known to remain, and for nearly half a century little information is available from English sources. For though Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, who was Viceroy for several years, seems to have made important alterations, nothing is known of their extent. It is curious that for such contemporary notices as are extant of the appearance of the Castle from the Rebellion of 1641 to the Revolution of 1688 we are indebted mainly to foreign observers. From these, however, it would seem that at least an outward show of splendour was maintained, and that in appearance and equipment the Castle was not unworthy. Boullaye le Gouz, who was received at the Castle in 1644 during the first Viceroyalty of the great Duke, then Marquis, of Ormond, describes the Castle as 'indifferently strong, without any outworks, and pretty well furnished with guns of cast metal;'[1] and though he does not describe the interior, it may be inferred from the magnificence of the ceremonial displayed by the Viceroy in going to St. Patrick's on a Sunday, that the decorations were sufficiently sumptuous. Another Frenchman, Jorevin de Rocheford, who was a visitor at the Court of the same Viceroy a few years after the Restoration, gives more positive evidence to the like effect:—'The Castle,' he wrote, 'is strong, enclosed by thick walls, and by many round towers that command the whole town; on them are mounted a good number of cannon. The court is small, but the lodgings although very ancient are very handsome, and worthy of being the dwelling of a Viceroy.'[2]

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[1] See Part II. *infra*, p. 381.

[2] Strafford's *Letters*, i. p. 131.

A few years after this judgment was passed, the interest of the Castle as a relic of the Middle Ages suffered the most serious blow that had yet befallen it. In April 1684, while Lord Arran was in residence as Deputy for his father the Duke of Ormond, an alarming fire occurred, which only the promptitude of Arran prevented from ending in the destruction of the whole building. The fire broke out at two in the morning in Lord Arran's dining-room, and raged for three hours. To prevent the fire from reaching the powder magazine, Lord Arran, who acted with great personal vigour and courage, and subsequently received the thanks of the city and corporation for his exertions,[3] was obliged to blow up the long gallery built by Falkland communicating with the north-east tower. The damage done on this occasion has been graphically described in a letter from Sir Patrick

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[1] *Tour of the French Traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland,* A.D. 1644. Ed. Crofton Croker, p. 6.

[2] *Antiquarian Repertory*, ii. p. 105. See Part II. *infra.*

[3] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, v. p. 311.

Dun to Doctor, afterwards Archbishop, King. 'The dining room,' he says, 'was burnt and blown up, the new building, built by the Earl of Essex, my lord's closet and the long gallery, and all betwixt the new building and the tower on which the clock stood.'[1] Arran, thus burnt out of the Castle, took refuge in the recently acquired 'King's House' at Chapelizod. Possibly it was by the existence of this alternative that the Treasury justified their refusal to expend money on the repair of the Castle. For there seems to have been an intention at the time to abandon the Castle as a residence. 'His Majesty has lost nothing' (so wrote Arran to the King) 'but six barrels of powder, and the worst Castle in the worst situation in Christendom.' The Duke of Ormond, however, lost effects to the value of 10,000*l.*[2] It was proposed to build a palace elsewhere, perhaps on the site of Ormond's intended mansion where now the Royal Barracks stand, and a King's letter authorising the sale of the site and materials of the Castle was actually drafted.[3] Two years after the fire little or nothing had been done to make good the damage. 'As for the Castle,' wrote Ormond's successor in 1686, 'I can only tell you that as it is the worst lodging a gentleman ever lay in, so it will cost more to keep it in repair than any other. Never comes a shower of rain but it breaks into the house, so that there is a perpetual tiling and glazing.' No gentleman in Pall Mall, added Clarendon, was worse lodged than he was.[4]

To continue the history of Dublin Castle beyond the date at which the building ceased to be a castle in any real sense of the term would hardly be found of much interest. Down to the Restoration the Castle had continued to be, as truly as in King John's time, the citadel of a metropolis which still presented many of the characteristics of a mediæval town. Situate at the south-eastern corner of the walls of Dublin, at the top of the rising ground which commanded the seaward approaches to the city, it occupied for military purposes the point of vantage in any attack which could be attempted. As late as the middle of the seventeenth century the low-lying land to the east of College Green was almost entirely unbuilt on, save for so much of it as was occupied by the precincts of Trinity College, and the population resided almost exclusively either within the city walls or in the southern districts comprised within the parishes adjacent to St. Patrick's Cathedral. During the struggles of Ormond to maintain the royal authority in Ireland, and again during the Cromwellian occupation, the Castle still remained the military key of Dublin. But with the Restoration all this was changed. The metropolis rapidly expanded, and the Castle, no longer overlooking the sea, as it had done a generation earlier when Falkland could descry from it the appearance of two Spanish ships of war in the bay of Dublin,[1] became shut in on all sides, so that its defensive value to the inhabitants against the attack of an invader became insignificant. When James II. came to Dublin the Castle was hurriedly fitted up by Tyrconnel for his reception, but no care whatever was spent on the defences of the building. These had indeed been pronounced worthless very shortly before by the Master-General of the Ordnance, who, in recommending the erection of a citadel 'on the hills of St. Stephen's Green,' described the condition of the ancient fortress as being 'all in rubbish by the late fire,'[2] and incapable in any event of securing his Majesty's stores of war without danger of destruction from fire, through being 'so pestered up with houses' that the approaches to it were entirely blocked up.

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[1] See Belcher's *Memoir of Sir Patrick Dun*, p. 23.

[2] Letter of Sir H. Verney, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. p. 499.

[3] This is stated in *The Viceregal Court Historically Vindicated*, a pamphlet by J. P. Prendergast, the well-informed author of the *Cromwellian Settlement*, but he does not give his authority.

[4] Clarendon's *State Letters*, ii. p. 101.

Worthless as a fortress, and undesirable as a residence, the Castle, from the departure of James II., ceased to be of any service save as the seat of the principal public offices. Of the Viceroys of William III. none took the trouble to reside for any time in Ireland, and some never came over to their government. The Lords Justices who governed in their behalf preferred the rustic surroundings of the King's House at Chapelizod to the dismal interior of the half-ruined edifice whose glories had departed. In Queen Anne's reign, under the administration of the second Duke of Ormond, some attempt was made to improve the approaches to the Castle. In 1711 the destruction by fire of the Council Chamber necessitated a consideration of the whole question of the adequacy of the existing accommodation for the public departments connected with the Castle. This was the beginning of radical structural alterations, which, extending through a period of above a century, only closed with the erection of the present Castle chapel in 1814 by the Duke of Richmond. In the course of these alterations the King's principal residence in Ireland was entirely transformed from a mediæval structure into the unimposing group of modern buildings which it now presents.[1]

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[1] *Cal. S. P.* 1625–32, p. 258.

[2] Ormonde Papers, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 14th Rep. ii. p. 313.

APPENDIX I

It seems appropriate to the plan of this attempt to recall the historical associations of the Castle of Dublin prior to its eighteenth century vicissitudes, to tell something of the story of the relations of the Castle to the numerous purposes of state, other than those of official residence and seat of government, which in early times the building was made to subserve.

Note A

THE CASTLE AS PARLIAMENT HOUSE

Besides being the seat of government and the residence of the Deputy, the Castle was also the Parliament House. The early Parliaments of Ireland were of course, like those of England, not necessarily held in the capital. Several of the most celebrated assemblies of the Lords and Commons of Ireland were held at Kilkenny, Trim, Drogheda, and elsewhere, according to the convenience or exigency of the moment. But in general the Parliament met in Dublin. And when it met in Dublin, it met, in early times at least, in Dublin Castle, no doubt in the great Hall so often mentioned in the State Papers.[1] In Tudor times, of course, the same reasons that drove the Deputies to Kilmainham and St. Sepulchre's made it impossible for the Parliament to meet in the Castle. The Abbey of St. Thomas, the Carmelite Monastery in Whitefriars Street, and the Cathedral of Christ Church thus became successively the scene of its migratory sittings.[2] The first Parliament of Elizabeth in 1559 was held by Sussex in the last-named building. But after the renovations carried out by Sidney, the Castle again accommodated the High Court of Parliament. The Parliaments of James I. and Charles I.—probably the later Parliaments of Elizabeth also—were there held in spite of the serious explosion of gunpowder which partially ruined the hall in 1596.[3] The letter of Sir Christopher Plunket, describing the celebrated Parliament called by Sir Arthur Chichester in 1613, gives a graphic picture of the scene at its opening,[4] on which occasion both Houses were accommodated in the great hall of the Castle which had been specially fitted up for the purpose.

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[1] Gilbert's *Viceroys*, p. 116.

Strafford's Parliaments were also held within the Castle, which continued to be the seat of the Legislature until the Rebellion. A description of the appearance of the two Houses during the Parliament which sat in 1635 has been left by Sir William Brereton.[5] But the Parliament of 1640 was the last to meet there. After the Restoration the Duke of Ormond changed the place of assembly to Chichester House, the predecessor of the Parliament House in College Green. And with the exception of the Parliament of James II., which was held at the King's Inns, formerly the Black Friars, on the site of the present Four Courts, and of those held at the King's Hospital (the Blue Coat School) in 1738–9 during the building of the Parliament House, all Parliaments were held in College Green from the Restoration to the Union.

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[1] Other considerations besides those of mere convenience seem to have actuated the Plantagenet Deputies in their choice of a meeting place for Parliament. It was an item of complaint against Sir William de Windsor, Edward's III.'s Lord-Lieutenant in 1371, and the husband of Alice Perrers, the fair but frail darling of his Sovereign's dotage, that he had held a Parliament at Baldoyle. There was not in the place any building but a small chapel, wherein the Parliament was held 'with the intention that, as the Commons of Ireland could not find lodging or other necessary accommodation there during their stay, they might the more quickly grant the subsidy required for the support of the King's war.' This expedient was successful, for after two or three days the Commons, 'being worn out by the tedious stay in that inconvenient place, granted the King 2,000*l*. Betham's *History of the Constitution of England and Ireland*, p. 308.

[2] Harris's *History of Dublin*, p. 43.

[3] 'The places here wherein the Parliaments have been used to be kept were ruined by the blast of powder, and still remain so.' *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 460.

[4] Lodge's *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, i. p. 169.

[5] See Part II. *infra*, p. 380.

Note B

THE CASTLE AS THE SEAT OF THE LAW COURTS

The relation of the Castle to the law courts was always intimate. As the language of King John's instructions to Meiller Fitz-Henry shows, it was from the first intended that the Castle should be the chief seat of legal administration, and so it continued to be, almost without interruption, down to Stuart times. No doubt the Hall of Justice suffered with the rest of the Castle in the early years of the Tudors. It appears that a representation was made to Henry VIII. by Alan, Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor, that the Chancery within the Castle was 'no better than a pigsty,' and orders were given in 1531 'for the rebuilding of the Castle Halls where the law is kept, lest the Majesty of the Law should perish, and the Judges be obliged to administer the law on the hills, as it were Brehons or Wild Irishmen.'[1] In 1548 the courts were transferred for a brief period to St. Patrick's,[2] during the suppression of the cathedral chapter. But on the reconstitution of the Cathedral they were restored to the Castle, where they occupied the great Hall or Parliament Chamber. This arrangement, however, was not found convenient, and Elizabeth 'frequently desired that the terms should be removed out of the Castle,'[3] where the situation of the courts over the powder magazine was in her time a source of natural apprehension to the justices. Instructions to this effect were given in 1585 to Sir John Perrot, who may have desired to utilise the hall in which the courts sat for the Parliament summoned in that year. Nevertheless, it was not until 1607 that the removal of the courts from the Castle was finally ordered. In that year James I. directed that they should be held in the deserted Monastery of the Black Friars;[4] the site of the old King's Inns, and of the modern Four Courts. But, frightened no doubt by the estimate of the cost of equipping the old Dominican Abbey for the purpose designed, his Ministers were unable to carry out this order. Though made use of as the King's Inns and the headquarters of the Bar, it was not until after a lapse of close on two centuries that the Black Friars site was appropriated to the full use for which King James had designed it; and, meantime, his Majesty's Four Courts found accommodation in a 'sumptuous fabric'[1] in the precincts of Christ Church,[2] to which they were transferred in 1610.

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[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, Foreign and Dom. Series, v. 198 p. 458.

[2] See Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 154; Morrin's *Patent Rolls of Elizabeth*, i. p. 541.

[3] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1598–9, p. 472.

[4] *Ibid.* 1605–6, p. 460.

Note C

THE CASTLE AS EXCHEQUER AND MINT

We have seen that the Castle was from the first intended to be the stronghold in which the King's treasure should be guarded, and that in general it was the actual seat of the Exchequer and of the Mint. The Court of Exchequer, however, and perhaps the Treasury itself, was not originally within the Castle precincts. 'Among other monuments,' says Stanihurst, 'there is a place in that lane, called now Collets Inn, which in old time was the Exaxar, or Exchequer.'[3] And the chronicler goes on to tell in a familiar paragraph the story of a raid by the Irish, in the course of which 'they ransacked the prince his treasure, upon which mishap the Exchequer was from thence removed.' The separate Exchequer building can be traced back at least as far as Henry III.'s time, and the Pipe Roll for the thirteenth year of that reign has an entry of the expenditure of ten shillings 'in glass for windows of the Exchequer.'[4] It may perhaps have been during the Bruce trouble that the incident commemorated by Stanihurst occurred, for from a direction to the Treasurer in 1313 to 'reside in Dublin Castle with the treasure,' and from the fact that the Castle was in that year repaired and strengthened, it would seem as though the Treasury had previously been situate without the precincts. Thenceforward, at any rate, the Exchequer remained within the walls, though John de Wilton is mentioned as late as 1345 as guardian of the works of Dublin Castle and of the houses of the Exchequer.[5]

The Castle was also long the seat of the Royal Mint. From the first establishment of an Irish Mint by King John in 1210, when mints were founded not only in Dublin but in Waterford and Limerick, to their abolition in Elizabeth's reign, the Dublin coinage seems to have been usually struck within the Castle. Several Acts of Parliament in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. contain enactments affecting the coinage, and direct the coins to be made in the Castle of Dublin. In 1425 John Cobham was granted the office of Master of the Coinage to be made in Dublin Castle, with the provision that 'all the money to be made there should be of the same weight, alloy and assay as the silver money which is made in London.'[1] An Act of Edward IV., passed at Wexford in 1463, recites the appointment of one Germyn Lynch, of London, goldsmith, to be 'Warden and Master of our moneys and coins within our Castle of Dublin and within our Castle of Trym,' and authorises him to make all the royal coinage. Lynch, who was no doubt a Galway man, had previously been permitted to make coins in that city as well as in Reginald's Tower at Waterford. Drogheda and Carlingford were also the seats of Royal Mints at this period.[2] By an Act passed in 1473 Lynch was formally appointed Master of the Mint, and it was ordered that 'the King's coin be struck for the time to come within the Castle of Dublin only and in no other place in Ireland.' A later Act, passed in 1475, while ordering that coins made in Cork, Youghal and Limerick 'be utterly damned and taken in no payment,' recognised the Drogheda and Waterford Mints as still legitimate. Lynch's appointment was however revoked, and the profits of the Mint granted to Gerald, Earl of Kildare. Coins were still struck in the Castle Mint as late as Edward VI.'s time, and Elizabeth certainly intended to reopen the Dublin Mint. In 1561 directions were given to the Lords Justices for the erection of a mint in Dublin, which is perhaps the 'Irish Mint House'[3] referred to by Fynes Moryson.[4] If so, the Mint in Moryson's time still occupied its old quarters, the Lords Justices designating 'the Castle of Dublin, with the help of the chapel next without the gate' (St. Andrew's) as the fittest place for the Mint. But, though the prospect of reviving the Dublin Mint was still entertained in Sidney's time, nothing was done to give effect to it either by Elizabeth in the remainder of her reign or by her successor. There is some evidence that Charles I. intended to restore the Mint, and Charles II., at the instance of the Duke of Ormond,[5] certainly gave a patent to coin silver in Ireland. But the Irish Mint was never re-established, and except for the familiar brass money of James II. no coins have ever issued from a royal mint in Ireland since the time of Edward VI.

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[1] Camden's *Britannia*, p. 1367.

[2] The following description of the Four Courts about the close of James's reign occurs in Gernon's *Discourse of Ireland*: 'The Courts of Justice are kept in a large stone building, parish of Christ Church, which is built in form of a cross. At the four ends are the Four Courts, well adorned. The middle is to walk in.' See Part II. *infra*.

[3] Holinshed's *Chronicles*, vi. p. 27.

[4] *35th Report of Deputy Keeper Irish Record Office*, p. 31.

[5] Close Roll, 17 & 18 Ed. III., Irish Record Office.

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[1] Pat. Roll, 3 Hen. VI.

[2] Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins*, p. 23, and App. pp. 82 and 85.

[3] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1509–1573, p. 167.

[4] See Part II. *infra.*

[5] *Ormonde Papers*, New Series, iii. p. 302.

Note D

THE CASTLE AS A STATE PRISON

The most characteristic feature of the Castle as a mediæval fortress was that it served as the State prison. From the days of Strongbow to those of Strafford, what is now called Cork Hill was the Tyburn of the Irish capital, and the Bermingham Tower was its Tower prison from an early date. It cannot have been from the Castle, but was perhaps from some city gate, that the body of Donnell, son of Annad, was suspended with his feet upwards, and his head placed over the door in 1172, 'as a miserable spectacle for the Gaedhill.'[1] But from the first building of the Castle its battlements were utilised to strike terror into the enemies of the State by the exhibition of the heads of traitors from above its walls. Of this barbarous practice of the Middle Ages there are plenty of examples in the history of the Castle. In 1358 one William Vale, having slain several Irish chieftains in Carlow and its neighbouring districts, 'brought their heads to the Castle of Dublin to be there put up';[2] and in the picture of the Castle in the illustrations to Derricke's 'Image of Ireland' the heads of decapitated chieftains appear suspended from the battlements of the Gate Tower.

In early times the prison within the Castle was in the lower rooms of the Bermingham Tower, and so continued till the seventeenth century, when it was transferred to the Gate House. The prisons were of course in the immediate custody of the Constable, who, like the Constable of the Tower of London, had the privilege of charging for the keep of provisions and hostages at a higher rate than the Constables of other castles. The earliest mention of the Castle prison to be met with in the State Papers is in 1282, when a sum of two shillings was paid for gyves;[3] but no doubt the Castle was from the first the State prison, and in general it seems to have also been the gaol for ordinary malefactors.

The inconvenience of making the Castle the common gaol was the subject of frequent remonstrances on the part of the representatives of the Crown during the sixteenth century. For notwithstanding that the new gate of the city had been equipped as a prison in Richard III.'s time,[1] the Castle seems to have remained the chief place of detention, and it was not until the reign of James I. that any steps were taken to alter this arrangement. In that year the King, 'in consideration of divers inconveniences attendant on the keeping of the common gaol within the Castle of Dublin,'[2] directed that it should be removed to some other suitable place in the city. But it was judged desirable that the Castle should still be used for the custody of State prisoners, and accordingly, to lessen the inconvenience to the Deputies, it was ordered that a wall should be built 'separating such persons from the part reserved for the lodging of the Lord Deputy.' But the cost of making these alterations was found too heavy for the grudging treasury of James to sanction, and though the prisoners were transferred to apartments in the Gate Tower, the work was badly done, and the inconvenience was soon as great as ever. It does not indeed appear precisely at what period the Castle ceased to be regarded as a fitting ward for offenders against the State. As lately as 1715 the Gate Tower of the Castle seems still to have been used for the custody of prisoners. But no doubt, after the erection of the eighteenth century Newgate built in 1773 on the Little Green on the north side of the city, it was no longer found necessary to trespass on the scanty accommodation of the Castle for this purpose.[3]

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[1] *Annals of Lough Cé*, i. p. 147 (Rolls Series).

[2] Close Roll, 32 Ed. III. No. 6. See Hardiman's 'Statute of Kilkenny,' *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 85.

[3] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1252–1284, p. 423.

Note E

THE CASTLE AS RECORD OFFICE

No more interesting associations are attached to the Castle than those which connect it with the guardianship of the records of the State. From very early times, and probably from its foundation, the Castle was utilised for this purpose. In 1304 the Treasury accounts record that the sum of four pence was paid for 'mending the lock and key of the great vault in the Castle of Dublin where the rolls are preserved.'[4] Ten years or so later, in the height of the Bruce scare, anxiety seems to have been felt for the safety of the archives. Directions were issued to Walter de Islip, the Treasurer of Ireland, 'to observe the ordinance made by the King's Council, whilst the King's clerk John de Hotham was in Ireland, that the Treasurer should reside in Dublin Castle with the rolls and other memoranda touching his office.'[5]

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[1] See Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, i. p. 257.

[2] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1608–10, p. 175.

[3] Harris's *History of Dublin*, p. 48.

[4] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1302–1307, p. 107.

[5] *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1313, p. 293.

Of the exact date of the transference of the records from the great vault just mentioned to the Bermingham Tower there is no precise evidence; but it is certain that they were kept in the last-named place from the middle of the sixteenth century at least. An elaborate memorandum, drawn up by John Alan, Master of the Rolls,[1] not long after the suppression of the rebellion of Silken Thomas, contains an important recommendation in regard to the safe-keeping of the records; and shows that the most culpable laxity had previously prevailed with regard to them: 'And, for conclusion, because there is no place so meet to keep the King's treasure as is His Grace's Castle of Dublin in the tower called Brymmyniames Tower—and where in times past the negligent keeping of the King's records hath grown to great losses to His Highness, as well concerning his lands as his laws, for that every keeper for his time, as he favoured, so did either embezzle, or suffered to be embezzled, such muniments as should make against them or their friends, so that we have little to show for any of the King's lands or profits in these parts; it is therefore necessary that from henceforth all the rolls and muniments to be had be put in good order in the aforesaid tower, and the door thereof to have two locks . . . and that no man be suffered to have loan of any of the said muniments from the said place, nor to search, view or read any of them there, but in the presence of one of the keepers aforesaid.'[2]

No attention seems to have been paid to Alan's recommendation, for in 1551 the law courts having been removed, as already stated, to St. Patrick's, an order was made by the Privy Council for the transference 'to the late library of the late Cathedral Church of St. Patrick's' of 'the records and muniments of his Highness's Chancery,'[3] on the ground that the tower within his Majesty's Castle of Dublin was both ruinous and too distant from the courts. What effect was given to this order we have no means of knowing. But from the brief stay of the courts in St. Patrick's it is unlikely that it was acted on. And it would seem from the terms of the order that in any case only legal records were intended to follow the courts. At any rate the Order in Council specifically directed that the tower should remain the general State Paper repository.

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[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 486 (1834).

[2] In mediæval times there appear to have been two distinct record repositories, viz.: the Chancery and the Treasury of the Exchequer. The Exchequer documents included not only Exchequer records proper, but the rolls of all the King's Justices at Common Law, and were kept at the Castle. The Chancery records consisted of Patent and Close Rolls, Bills or Warrants of the Justiciary of Ireland, Writs of various kinds, Injunctions, &c., and were kept in St. Mary's Abbey. In 1300, however, almost the entire contents of the Chancery were destroyed in the fire which burnt the Abbey in that year, and thereafter the Chancery documents seem to have been kept for a considerable period in the Treasury of Trim Castle, and later, as Alan's memorandum suggests, in the private houses of the successive Masters of the Rolls.

[3] Smyth's *Law Officers of Ireland*, p. 55. Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 155.

No adequate arrangements were made under Edward VI. or Queen Mary for the protection of the documents in the tower; and the only effect of the order just referred to seems to have been that the records were disturbed and disordered, and their safety imperilled. When Sir Henry Sidney entered on his government he found them, according to Collins, 'in an open place, subject to wind, rain, and all weather, and so neglected that they were taken for common uses.'[1] It is to Sidney's admirably efficient administration that we are principally indebted for the preservation of a great portion of the State Papers, and we unquestionably owe to him the establishment of the earliest Irish Record Office. In 1566 he directed Henry Draycott, then Master of the Rolls and Chancellor of the Exchequer, to undertake the 'perusing, sorting and calendaring' of her Majesty's records, which he had previously 'well laid up in a strong chamber of one of the towers of Dublin Castle.'[2] He also appointed, as Stanihurst remarks, 'a special officer with a yearly fee for the keeping of them.' Thomas Cotton, the Deputy Auditor-General, was the first to hold this office.[3] The salary of this earliest Deputy Keeper of the Records was fixed at 10*l*. per annum. At this modest figure it remained down to the year 1715, when it was enlarged to the more substantial figure of 500*l*. a year for the benefit of no less distinguished a personage than Joseph Addison, then Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, and it so continued down to the constitution of a Public Record Office by Statute in 1817.[4]

In 1635 Strafford drew attention to 'the want of Treasuries for His Majesty's Records of his Four Courts,' and his recommendation that a proper office should be built resulted in the provision of a Rolls Office.[5] In a vigorous minute Strafford pointed out that the legal records having been latterly kept for want of proper custody in the house of the Master of the Rolls, many records had been lost, and more recently burned in a fire which had consumed that official's residence. From this time probably dates the definite separation of the legal records of the country from the State Papers properly so called.[1]

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[1] Collins's *Sydney State Papers, Memoir*, i. p. 90.

[2] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1509–73, p. 295.

[3] Fiants, Eliz. Nos. 3320 and 3614, Irish Record Office.

[4] *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, II. vi. 205.

[5] Strafford's *Letters*, i. p. 527.

Note F

THE OFFICE OF CONSTABLE OF DUBLIN CASTLE

From the very earliest times until late in the eighteenth century the Castle was governed by a Constable, an officer of considerable dignity, who was responsible for the security of its defences, and for the safe custody of the prisoners committed to the Grate. The office appears to have been at all times one of high consideration. Like the Constable of the Tower of London, its holder was entitled, as already noted, to demand higher fees for the maintenance of prisoners and hostages than were chargeable in other castles in the kingdom. The earliest express mention of a Constable by name is that of Simon Muredoc,[2] who in 1245 was directed to give formal possession of the Castle to Henry III.'s newly appointed Justiciary, John Fitz-Geoffrey. But it would appear that, in 1226, Theobald Walter,[3] the ancestor of the Ormond family, had the custody of the Castle, and may have been its first Constable. One Hugo de Lega was Keeper of the Castle in 1235, but the office of Keeper was then, as well as in later times, distinct from that of Constable. The salary of the Constable, exclusive of fees, was twenty pounds Irish, and it seems to have remained at this modest figure as late as the Restoration, when an allowance of ten shillings a day was added.[4] At the accession of George II. it was again raised, the 'ancient fee of twenty pounds' being augmented by an addition of 345*l.*, thus bringing up the full emoluments to a pound a day. But the perquisites must at all times have been valuable. The privilege of residence within the Castle seems to have been highly valued, if we may judge from the petition of Jaques Wingfield, who, about 1560, 'bilded an handsome lodging for himself at his own proper charge.'[5] And the Ormonde Papers contain an agreement for the sale of beer within the Castle on terms which must have been very profitable to the Constable.[1]

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[1] For information on the state of the Irish records generally prior to the nineteenth century see the prefaces to the three volumes of Morrin's *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland.*

[2] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1172–1251, p. 417.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 217.

[4] *Ormonde Papers*, New Series, vol. iii.

[5] *State Papers (Ireland)*, Record Office, vol. xvi. p. 25. Wingfield was ordered by the Deputy, Fitzwilliams, to quit his lodging. In a petition to Cecil, Wingfield describes the residence as 'my cottage in the Castle that standeth on the North Wall of the Castle joined to the Constable's prison.' The Constable' lodgings had previously been on the opposite side, but were moved when Sidney built the Viceregal lodgings on the south side.

The defensive establishment of the Castle seems to have varied from time to time, but four gunners and fourteen warders seem to have been the normal complement. The city in early times seems to have been called on to contribute to the cost of defending the Castle, as appears from a fine inflicted in 1312 on John le Usher, then Constable, who, having been allowed the cost of maintaining twelve extra men, over and above the ordinary garrison, who were to receive their pay out of the city dues, neglected, 'contrary to his oath and in deceit of the King and Court,' to maintain the additional men. The city was likewise called upon about this time to supply the Constable of Dublin Castle with 'twelve good arbalists, with fitting gear and ten thousand bolts'; and in 1315 the Mayor and Sheriffs provided a quantity of munition for defence of the Castle.[2] In 1537, Alan, the Master of the Rolls, in calling attention to the necessity for the repair of the Castle, recommended that 'for the custody thereof, and many other dangers, the Constable of the same be an Englishman of England born, whose dwelling shall be continually within the said Castle without appointing of a deputy, and he to be associated with four gunners, of the which number two shall always be present.'[3]

A LIST OF THE CONSTABLES OF DUBLIN CASTLE

(*Compiled from the Liber Munerum Hiberniæ, the State Paper Calendars, and other sources.*)

1226. Theobald Walter.
1245. Simon Muredoc.
1276. Henry de Ponte.
1278. Peter de Condon.
1280. William Burnel.
1285. Philip Keling, Junior.
1293. John Wodelok.
1296. Henry le Waleys.
1302. Simon de Ludgate.
1302. John le Usher.
1325. Henry de Badowe.
1352. James, Earl of Ormond.
1371. Roger Ocley.
1377. John Davenport and Richard Ocley.
1381. Roger de Levenes.
1383. John Barnolby.
1399. William le Scrope.
1399. William Rye.
1401. Jenico Dartas.
1427. Christopher Plunkett.
1450. Giles Thorndon.
1453. Sir Henry Bruen.
1454. John Bennet.
1467. Thomas Alfray.
1474. Gerald Fitzgerrot.
1486. Richard Archbold.

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[1] Agreement of Dudley Mainwaring with Nicholas Buck, *Ormonde Papers*, N.S. iii.

[2] *Historic and Municipal Documents*, pp. 302, 327

[3] *State Papers of Henry VIII.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 486 (1834).

1533. Sir John White.
1543. John Parker.
1561. Robert Tucker.
1566. John Bettes.
1566. William Denham.
1566. Jaques Wingfield.
1575. Silvester Cooley.
1587. Stephen Segur or Segrave.
1588. John Maplesden.
1591. Michael Kettlewell.
1600. Tristram Eccleston.
1607. Henry Piers or Persse.
1611. Roger Davys.
1617. Roger Davys and Robert Branthwaite.
1628. Roger Davys and Samuel Dargas.
1635. Mathew Mainwaring.
1644. Mathew and Dudley Mainwaring.
1660. Sir John Stephens.
1673. Col. John Jeffreys.
1680. Arthur Turner.
1681. James Clarke.
1684. James and William Clarke.
1708. John and William Pratt.
1727. Thomas Hatton.
1767. Henry Seymour Conway.[1]

APPENDIX II

A SURVEY OF DUBLIN CASTLE IN 1624.[2]

May it please yo^{r} Most Hono^{rble} LLps,—I longe since represented unto yo^{r} llp^{s} the pticuler surveyes of the severall forts of most importance in this kingdom, taken by S^{r} Thomas Rotherham and Capten Pinner, togeather wth an Estimat of the chardge w^{ch} the repayre of them would amount unto; And lately by my lres̃ of the ixth of the last Monneth, I was bould to offer the considerac̃on thereof againe unto your llp^{s}: Since that tyme having^{e} heard somthing^{e} of the proceedinges in Parliament, & not knowing^{e} what alterac̃ons the constitutions of these tymes may produce, I have caused Capten Pinner to take an exact survey of this Castle of Dublin, and to certefy the ruins of it, togeather wth the chardge that the repayre of it, shall com to, w^{ch} I heere inclosed present unto your llp^{s}, and doe humbly desyre, that as it is my duty to acquaint your llp^{s} wth these pticulers, soe yow wilbee pleased to dirrect mee in due tyme what course to houlde in them, that I may resolve accordingly.

Yo^{r} most Hono^{rble} LLp^{s} Most humbly at Commaund,

Falkland.

Addressed: To the Right Hono^{rble} my very good Lordes
the Lordes of his Ma^{ts} Most Honorable Privy Councell.

Endorsed: xi^{o} Aprilis 1624, from y^{e} Lo: Deputie of Irelande, concerning a survey of y^{e} Castle of Dublin.

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[1] Conway was the last Constable. The office was abolished by the Statute 57 George III. cap. 62.

[2] *S. P.* (*Ireland*), vol. ccxxxviii. pt. i. No. 37, I.

Dublin Castle: An Estimac̃on made the 5th of Aprill 1624 by Thomas Pynnock and Thomas Gray Masons, for the Pulling downe of the greate Towar standing West North West being 63 foote high w^{ch} maketh 3 perches at 21^{tie} foote the perche, and the Compasse ther of being taken in the myddell of the walle is 124 foote making 6 perches for the Circumference. And the thicknes of the walle is Tenn foote.

	li		
For the Pulling downe of the Tower and lainge the Stones in place may cost by Estimac̃on . .	080	00	00
The Tower will conteine 1600 perches. w^{ch} for the Workmanship only at 2s. 6d. the pche will cost .	200	00	00
Every perch of work will require 2 barrells of roache lyme, w^{ch} at 9d. the barrell being 3200 barrells will cost	120	00	00
Every Barrell of lyme will require 2 barrells of sand w^{ch} at 3d. the barrell to be layd in the place to be wrought. being 6400 barrells will cost .	080	00	00
For Diging of stone sufficient for this worke may cost by Estimac̃on	045	00	00
For the Stone it self and bringing it home may cost	090	00	00
For Scaffoling	025	00	00
For Ankers, Dogges and Spikes may cost . .	025	00	00
For 100 stone stayres ruff hewed at 3s. 4d. the pece	016	00	00
For Tymber and planks for one platforme and fyve floores may cost by Estimac̃on	100	00	00
For taking up of the lead, w^{ch} must be all newe cast and wrought, may cost by Estimac̃on . . .	050	00	00
For Clensing the Moate from all Rubbish and the Mudd w^{ch} in greate aboundance, may cost . .	060	00	00
Sum̃a .	891	00	00

Nicħo Pynnar

T. P. Thomas Graye . Masons.

	li		
Ther is also in diuers of the Towers (w^{ch} because the names of them are not knowne, we doe sett downe in generall their defects) a greate deale of walle, and parapet that is fallen downe, and som so ryven that it must be taken downe, w^{ch} wilbe in all 213 perches and for the Workmanship of all this wth stone, lyme, and sand will cost 8*s.* each perche as is here under specified, and this will amount unto by estimac̃on	85	8	0

	li		
There is a greate deale of stone work must be pulled downe, and the stones to be saued and layd in place may cost by Estimac̃on	5	0	0
The Tower called Bremagems Tower wanteth no stonework but it hath no platforme, w^{ch} is a place fitt for a peece of Artillery. this is 41 foote long and 24 foote wide, and this may cost by Estimac̃on	24	0	0
The leade of this Tower must be taken up and new wrought w^{ch} may cost by Estimac̃on . . .	30	00	0
Ther is a litle Tower standing South w^{ch} also hath no platforme and is very needefull to have a peece of Artillery and this may cost by Estimac̃on	14	00	0
The lead also of this must be taken up and newe wrought, w^{ch} may cost by estimac̃on . . .	25	00	00
For Ankers, Dogg^{es} and Spikes to fasten in the walles, w^{ch} for want of theise formerly hath bene the cause of the Ruin of theise walles, and this may Cost by estimac̃on	25	00	00
All the out side of the Castle walle towards the South and the west is weather beaten. and in the West end ther is a crack from one tower to the other and must be pynned, both in that place and som others, and this may cost by estimac̃on	250	00	00
Sum̃a .	458	8	00
Ther must be for every ꝑch of work 2 Cart load of stone w^{ch} doth cost			3*s.*
For 2 barrells of Roach lyme			18*d.*
For 4 barrells of Sand			12*d.*
For workmanship each perche at			2*s.* 6*d.*
Sum̃a .			8*s.*

Nicħo Pynnar

T. P. Thomas Graye . Masons.

Endorsed : A Survey of the Castle of Dublin, April 5, 1624.

II

THE PHŒNIX PARK

The Phœnix Park is the greatest and most abiding monument of that extraordinary revival and extension of the Irish capital which followed the Restoration, and which in the space of a few years transformed Dublin from a mediæval city into a modern metropolis. Down to the era of the Commonwealth Dublin had remained a walled town, within the ambit of whose fortifications little or no change affecting its general appearance had taken place for a couple of centuries. From the days of the later Plantagenets to those of the later Stuarts, it may almost be said, no scenic transformation on a large scale was effected in the aspect of the capital, save what was involved in the suppression of the monasteries and the conversion of the Abbey of St. Mary's and the Priory of All Hallows from religious to civil uses. The disturbed condition of Ireland throughout the whole Tudor period sufficiently engaged the attention of successive Deputies from Poynings to Essex; and when the comparative calm that followed the Plantation of Ulster left leisure to such liberal-minded rulers as Chichester, St. John, and Falkland to contemplate the improvement of the capital, even the expenditure which was found to be indispensable to make Dublin Castle habitable was with difficulty sanctioned by the parsimony of James I.[1] Such extensions of the city as took place in the early years of the seventeenth century lay in a south-easterly direction, some part of the empty space between Dublin Castle and Trinity College being appropriated to Chichester House. But no attempt was made to enlarge the bounds of the metropolis to the west, where on the north the meadows and green of Oxmantown lost themselves in the vague hinterland of Grangegorman, and on the south fresh meadows running down to the banks of the Liffey extended from James's Street to the old priory of Kilmainham.[1]

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[1] See pp. 21–22, *supra*.

The all-pervading energy of Strafford would probably have undertaken the adornment of the capital had time and fate permitted. His letters are not without evidence that the subject was in his thoughts. But the dread Viceroy passed to his doom on Tower Hill, leaving no visible memorial nearer Dublin of his long tenure of uncontrolled authority than the crumbling walls of his unfinished edifice near the Naas road. After Strafford's departure ensued the terrible epoch that followed the Rebellion of 1641.

> Fire and sword,
> Red ruin and the breaking up of laws,

laid hold of Ireland for a full decade. And the war and waste which devastated the whole country nowhere left ruder traces than in the streets and fortifications of Dublin and in the fortunes of its hapless citizens. It is difficult to picture a scene of greater desolation, indigence, and even famine than is painted in the letters of the Irish Lords Justices in the years immediately following the Rebellion and in those of the Viceroy, afterwards the first Duke of Ormond,[2] in the disastrous years that preceded his abandonment of Ireland to the Roundheads. The decade 1651 to 1660 was one of less disturbance. But a military government seldom encourages municipal prosperity, and the general sense of the insecurity of the Cromwellian *régime* was unfavourable to private enterprise. Thus it was not until the Restoration that any effort was made to rescue the city from the decay into which it had fallen. Then, indeed, was witnessed a marvellous change.

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[1] As late as the end of the seventeenth century Spenser's line still remained photographically descriptive of the flow of the Liffey right up to the city:—

> 'There was the Liffy rolling downe the lea.'
>
> *Faery Queene*, Book IV. canto xi.

[2] Letters of the Irish Lords Justices, 1641–44. *Ormonde Papers*, New Series, vol. ii.

In the year 1661 the Duke of Ormond, sharing the happier fortunes of the cause to which he had clung in adversity, and returning from exile with his master, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, or, to use the picturesque phrase of the time, 'came to the sword.' A great nobleman, possessed of a stake in the country greater than that of any other subject of the Crown, Ormond was in the fullest sense a resident Viceroy. Having held the sword in the evil days of rebellion and civil war, he knew, as no one else could, all that the country and the capital had suffered, and he returned to Ireland animated with a desire to do all that in him lay to give back prosperity to both. How far he succeeded in the political sphere in fulfilling expectations of which, as he remarked, it would have required another and a larger Ireland to satisfy them all, need not be discussed here. But of the efficacy of his plan for the renovation of Dublin there can be no sort of question. If the exile of the Royalists to Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, and wherever else the scattered followers of Charles II. found a refuge in Continental centres, did nothing else for them, adversity was not without its uses in enlarging their experience of men and cities. Ormond and his adherents returned with new and liberal ideas of what a capital ought to be, and to these they speedily gave effect. Houses everywhere sprang up without the walls of Dublin. The space from Cork Hill to College Green previously but sparsely occupied was quickly filled up. Oxmantown Green became so built upon that, in less than eight years, Ormond was obliged to requisition St. Stephen's Green, then lately walled in, as an exercise ground for his garrison, and the northern quays began to be formed as we now know them.[1] So rapid was the extension that the citizens, mindful of their past troubles, called the attention of the Viceroy to the difficulties likely to be occasioned in time of war by reason of the large number of dwellings which now lay without the fortifications; and

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[1] See the Description of England and Ireland by Mons. Jorevin de Rocheford, Paris, 1672, Part II. *infra*.

Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex,[1] one of Ormond's successors in the Viceroyalty, writing in 1673, observes that 'the city of Dublin is now very near, if not altogether, twice as big as it was at his Majesty's restoration, and did, till the Dutch war began, every day increase in building.' But of all the adornments and additions then planned and accomplished, by far the greatest was the formation and enclosure of 'his Majesty's Park of the Phœnix.'

Although the Phœnix Park, as it now is, and as it has been known to the citizens of Dublin for above two centuries, has for its southern boundary the road running by the north bank of the Liffey from Dublin to Chapelizod, it originally embraced both sides of the river, and included the land on which the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, now stands. Here it was that the Duke of Ormond found the nucleus of the Park. At the time of his return from exile the lands of Kilmainham had been for exactly a century in the undisturbed possession of the Crown. Originally granted by Strongbow to the Knights Hospitallers in 1174, they had remained until the Reformation the appanage of what Ware calls 'the most noble Priory of St. John's of Jerusalem in Ireland.' [2] But they had been surrendered to Henry VIII. in the thirty-third year of that monarch's reign by the then prior, Sir John Rawson.[3] The Hospital and its lands remained in the possession of the Crown from 1542 onwards, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and the priory appears even thus early to have been utilised as a Viceregal residence. In Ware's 'Annals' [4] the Lord Deputy,

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[1] *Essex Papers*, Camden Soc., New Series, vol. xlvii.

[2] Ware's *Annals*, p. 259. On the suppression of the Knights Templars by Edward II. in 1313, their lands in Ireland were given to the Knights of St. John. Hence the mistake of Archdall, who, in his *Monasticon*, erroneously states that the lands of Kilmainham were granted by Strongbow to the Knights Templars. Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, edition of 1876, ii. p. 92.

[3] 1542. A Statute (34 Henry VIII.) passed in this year at Dublin enacted 'that the King our Sovereign Lord shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy to him, his heirs and successors for ever, the said late dissolved Hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem in this realm, and all and singular its possessions, lands, appurtenances,' &c.

[4] Ware's *Annals*, p. 142.

Thomas Radcliffe, Viscount Fitzwalter, is described as marching in 1557 with his forces 'from the Hall of Kilmainham, being the Lord-Lieutenant's place of retire.' But at the close of the same year the priory was restored by Queen Mary, at the instance of Cardinal Pole, to the Knights of St. John, one Oswald Massingberd being installed as prior. Massingberd's tenure was necessarily brief. On the accession of Elizabeth in the year following he fled overseas, and Fitzwalter, returning to the Viceroyalty as Earl of Sussex, resumed possession of the priory. Thereupon it was found expedient to settle the title of the Crown on a clear basis; and, accordingly, by 'An Act for the restitution of the late priory or hospital of St. John's of Jerusalem,' the house and lands were declared to be 'annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm in the Queen's most royal person' in as full a manner as before the patent to Sir Oswald Massingberd.[1]

The priory, or as it now began to be called, the Castle of Kilmainham, having considerably decayed since the original suppression of the Knights of St. John by Henry VIII.,[2] Elizabeth, deeming it a fit place for the residence of the Chief Governors of Ireland, gave order for its repair. For the next thirty years it was so used by successive deputies from Sir Henry Sidney[3] to Sir William Fitzwilliam, though the former, on his first arrival, finding the repairs inadequate, was obliged to take refuge in the archiepiscopal palace of St. Sepulchre's.[4] But after Fitzwilliam's departure in 1588, the hall or principal building was suffered to fall into woeful dilapidation, whilst its appurtenant premises had already degenerated into hopeless ruin. A memorandum drawn up in 1572 of 'the decays of the Manor place of Kilmainham,[1] and of the mills and weirs there,' shows the extent to which decay had even then spread; St. John's Church being roofless, St. Mary's chapel being utilised as a stable and its steeple broken down, and the fort by which the whole was defended presenting a complete wreck. The mills and weirs of Kilmainham had also fallen into ruin, 'the pound by which the waters of a swift-running river named the Liffey' had course to the former having two great breaches or gaps in it, and the weirs 'for the taking of samon' urgently needing repair. But sorry as was the spectacle thus presented by her Majesty's House of Kilmainham, no attention whatever was paid by Elizabeth to the frequent remonstrances of her representatives in Ireland at the neglect of the place. After Fitzwilliam's departure the ancient priory was degraded to a granary, though many years were still to elapse ere it ceased to be officially regarded as a possible Viceregal habitation. In 1599, when the favourite Essex was about to come over on the luckless mission which was to lead him to the scaffold, orders were given for the putting in readiness of her Majesty's House of Kilmainham for the Lord Lieutenant's reception; but a sum of 153*l.*, expended by the Lords Justices in repairs pursuant to this order, incurred the disapproval of the Treasury, who endorsed the item in the accounts 'a house of pleasure without Dublin, and therefore a superfluous charge.'[2]

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[1] Statute 2 Elizabeth, cap. vii.

[2] MS. Annals of Dudley Loftus in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin.

[3] 'In the Christmas holidays, 1566, I visited him [O'Neill] in the heart of his country . . . and when word was brought him that I was so near him—"That is not possible," quoth he, "for the day before yesterday I know he dined and sate under his cloth of estate in his hall of Kilmainham."' Sir H. Sidney's Journeys, *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, iii. p. 42. Sidney during his residence caused Island Bridge to be built on the site of a structure built of stone in the middle of the fifteenth century, but swept away by a flood in 1545. The bridge was long known as Kilmainham Bridge.

[4] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1509–1573. And see p. 16, *supra*.

The later Elizabethan Viceroys, exercising their office for the most part through Lords Justices, were little inconvenienced by the loss of their only official residence outside Dublin Castle. But early in the reign of James I. that vigorous administrator Sir Arthur Chichester, who was Lord Deputy for twelve years, of which eight were spent in Ireland, did his best to get the place put into order. In 1605, he applied for '1,000*l.* harpe, making 750*l.* sterling for the repair of the house at Kilmainham, as a residence for the Lord

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[1] 'Decays of the Manor Place of Kilmainham,' *Irish State Papers*, Eliz. vol. xiv. p. 57, ii., Record Office.

[2] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1599–1600, p. 240.

Deputy in the summer months, when the castle is somewhat noisome by reason of the prison.'[1] Four years later he was obliged to name 3,000*l.* as the sum necessary, describing the place as 'a goodly vast building, but like to be utterly ruined and blown down the next winter.' Chichester plaintively added that he made this representation only in discharge of his duty, 'Kilmainham being his Majesty's only house in this kingdom meet for the deputy to reside in,' but not expecting that any attention would be paid to his remonstrance.

It being plain that King James and his Ministers cared nothing for the place, and were only desirous of getting rid of the cost of keeping it from further dilapidation, divers of his officers in Ireland began to set covetous eyes on Kilmainham. Memorials were addressed to the King pointing out its ruinous condition and the valuelessness of the lands attached to it, and expressing a loyal readiness to relieve the Crown of the whole. In 1609, Sir Richard Sutton,[2] his Majesty's Auditor of Imprests, proposed to take a grant of all the lands on the north side of the Liffey in fee-farm for ever, with the reservation of only 20*l.* a year to the Crown, in consideration of his surrender of certain lands in Cornwall. A King's letter directing a patent to issue was accordingly sent over to Chichester, from whom it drew a vigorous protest. The Lord Deputy suspended the grant till his objections could be considered by the Privy Council, pointing out the desirability of restoring the house as a Viceregal residence, and observing that if the lands were alienated the deputies would be 'without any place either of pleasure or help towards housekeeping.' He concluded by expressing his opinion that if the grant should be made the Crown would ere long be coerced either to largely increase the Viceregal allowances or to buy back Kilmainham. Chichester's protest, however, fell on deaf ears. In the following year the patent issued to Sutton, and the Deputy, despairing of procuring its revocation, proposed to build an official country seat at Drogheda, where the Irish Primates, who were frequently made responsible for the government of the country in the absence of the Deputy from Ireland, had their principal residence. The priory of Kilmainham was left derelict. No attempt was ever thereafter made to restore the building, of which half a century later little or nothing remained.[1] In the Down Survey, the remnants are described as the ruins of a large castle; and when in 1680 directions were given to clear the site for the erection of the Royal Hospital, there only remained part of the walls of the chapel, the stones of which were carefully taken down and used in building the chapel of the Hospital.

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[1] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1603–6, p. 381.

[2] *Ibid.* 1608–10, p. 332.

But the disappointed Deputy had not to wait long for the fulfilment of his prophecy. Sir Richard Sutton never took possession of the lands of Kilmainham, but assigned his grant in 1611 to Sir Edward Fisher,[2] to whom, in the same year, a fresh grant was issued confirming his title to all the lands on the north side of the Liffey and Kilmainham Bridge, extending from Oxmantown Green to Chapelizod and to the river Liffey, and including 330 acres, part of the demesne of the late Hospital of Kilmainham, and 60 acres known as Kilmainham Wood. On the property thus granted, Fisher, who acquired at the same time the sole right of fishing in the Liffey, erected a country house. But in 1618 he surrendered his patent to the King[3] for a sum of 2,500*l.*, whereupon the lands with the house thereon were, by special direction of the King, converted to the use of the Chief Governor of Ireland for the time being.

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[1] See also *Carew Cal.* (1603–24), p. 80. 'I have caused an exact view to be taken of the house at Killmainham, and appraise most of the materials to be made by skilful men, which amounteth not to 300*l.*, leaving the stable, a garden, and the walls of a garden standing.' *Answer*, 'Lord Carew is directed to view the place, and on conference with you to direct what is necessary to be done.'

[2] The grant to Sir E. Fisher included: 'All the lands lying on the northern side of the Liffey and Kilmainham Bridge, 330 acres; being part of the demesne of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; a parcel of underwood called Kilmainham Wood, 60 acres; all bounding and extending to the high-road leading from Oxmantown Green near Dublin, to Chapel Izod, and to the river Liffey, South; to the lands of Newtowne, East; to the hedge and lands of Newtown, Ashtown, and Mainham's Bush, North; to the plowlands in or near Chapel Izod in the tenor of Sir Henry Power, West; a parcel of meadow 10 acres extending to Kilmainham Bridge, East; to the road, North; to the lands of Chapel Izod, West; and to the Liffey, South, parcel of the estate of the said Hospital.' Total rent 10*l.* English. To hold for ever as of the Castle of Dublin in common socage. *Patent Roll of James I.* 1611.

[3] *Ibid.* pt. ii.

This repurchase of the lands of Kilmainham was effected by Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards Lord Grandison, who in 1616 had succeeded Chichester as Deputy, and who, almost immediately after Fisher's surrender, took up his abode at 'his Majesty's House at Kilmainham called the Phenix.'[1] The house is first described by that name in an order for payment of moneys disbursed in repairs in February 1619, and thenceforward it is constantly used. With respect to the origin and derivation of this name, I cannot presume to meddle in Gaelic etymology. The explanation offered by most local historians, and expanded by Dr. Joyce, refers the name to a corruption of the word *Fionn* (or *Phion*) *uisg'*, signifying clear, or limpid, water. According to this suggestion the name denotes a spring well of singular transparency situate within the park.[2]

It was in the time of St. John's successor, the first Lord Falkland, that the notion, not carried out till forty years later, of turning the lands into a deer park seems to have been first entertained. In 1623 a King's letter directed that one William Moore should be employed about his Majesty's park, which was to be enclosed near Dublin for the breeding of deer and the maintenance of game. But although the office of Master of the Hawks and Game had been constituted in 1605, and was at the time held by the Vice-Treasurer, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, afterwards Earl of Londonderry, it does not appear that anything was done to enclose any part of the lands of the Phœnix or to stock it with game.

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[1] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1615–1625, p. 246.

[2] *Irish Names of Places*, i. p. 24. It is not certain that Dr. Joyce is correct in fixing the site of this spring as close to the Phœnix Pillar and the entrance to the Viceregal grounds. The spring at that spot would not have been on the lands originally held with the Phœnix house. Assuming the suggested etymology to be correct, it seems more probable that the name derives from a spring in the vicinity of the Magazine, perhaps the rivulet that runs along the valley on the north side of the Magazine Hill. It may be noted that the river Finisk which joins the Blackwater below Cappoquin is called the 'Phœnix' by Charles Smith in his *History of Waterford*.

At any rate no new Master was appointed on Ridgeway's death in 1631.

For forty years from the time of its acquisition by the Crown 'the House of the Phœnix' remained the principal residence of the rulers of Ireland and their favourite resort. After Falkland's time it was occupied by the Lords Justices in the absence of the Viceroy, and the well-known Earl of Cork notes in his diary how 'I and mine were this day feasted at the Phenix by the Lord of Ranelagh.'[1] Strafford and Ormond, Fleetwood and Henry Cromwell, were among its successive occupants in the thirty troubled years that preceded the Restoration. Situated on the eminence now occupied by the magazine fort, commanding the fine prospect of the Dublin hills and of the valley of the Liffey in one direction, and a far-stretching expanse of almost entirely unoccupied land in another, it was an almost ideal spot for the recreation of jaded statesmen in the intervals that great affairs afforded. Here Strafford, in the earlier years of his rule, diverted himself with hawking, or with such substitute for his favourite sport as he was forced to improvise in a country seat in which, as he laments to his friend Cottington, 'there hath not been a partridge within the memory of man.' 'To-morrow,' he writes, 'I purpose with a cast or two of spar-hawks to take myself to fly at blackbirds, ever and anon taking them on the pates with a trench. It is excellent sport, there being sometimes two hundred horse on the field looking on at us.'[2] Strafford however was not contented with the Phœnix, either as a residence or for the sport its neighbourhood afforded. He defends himself, in a letter to Laud, against a charge of extravagant expenditure on his mansion near Naas, and his park at Shillelagh, on the plea that it was 'uncomely' that his Majesty should not have a house in Ireland capable to lodge him with moderate conveniency.[3] On Ormond's surrender of Dublin to the Parliament in 1647, the Phœnix passed into the hands of the Parliamentarians, but on the Viceroy's return in June 1649, when he lay before Dublin prior to the disastrous battle of Rathmines, he summoned the House to surrender, and it was delivered up, but only to be reoccupied a few weeks later by the victorious forces of the Parliamentary General, Michael Jones.[1] In 1652 Sir Jerome Sankey, one of the most acquisitive of the Cromwellians, seems to have secured a promise of the place. A survey of the manor of Kilmainham was ordered by the Parliamentary Commissioners. But it does not appear how far this affair proceeded.[2] Later, the Phœnix was the constant abode of Henry Cromwell,[3] many of whose letters are dated from thence.[4] He appears to have been fond of the place and to have added considerably to the building, which, even before his improvements, was described by Sir William Petty as a very stately house and in good repair.[5] Ormond, on being reinstated as Viceroy, gave order for the building of a hall and stables; and Lord Orrery,[6] who, as one of the Lords Justices pending Ormond's arrival, had charge of the improvements, suggested the addition of a chapel. But except as to the stables, these designs were not proceeded with, the larger schemes involved in the formation of the Park rendering them in part unnecessary.

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[1] *Lismore Papers*, 1st Ser. iii. p. 60.

[2] Strafford's *Letters*, i. p 162.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. p. 105.

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[1] Jones is stated in a pamphlet of the day to have taken 'the Phœnix, the strong house of the Earl of Strafford near the city of Dublin' on August 13, 1649.

[2] Hardinge, 'On Surveys in Ireland,' *Trans. R.I.A.* vol. xxiv.; *Antiquities*, p. 5.

[3] '26 May, 1657. We all dined yesterday and took leave at the Phenix, where we found much freedom and welcome.'—Major Geo. Rawdon to Lord Conway. *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1647–1660.

[4] 'When Sir H. Waller surprised the Castle of Dublin Henry Cromwell retired to a house in the Phœnix Park.'—Leland's *History of Ireland*, iii. p. 400.

[5] Down Survey.

[6] 'I am now building a house for myself in Munster, of which I am the architect, and therefore pretend something to engineership, by virtue of which I spent an hour yesterday in designing what you command should be further done at the Phœnix, which is a hall and a stable. I proposed to the Council that, to make the house uniform, the hall should be built as a room answerable to the new building Col. Harry Cromwell made; and that to make it of even length thereunto a chapel should be added, without which your grace's family will not be a little disaccommodated. Both these will make the house uniform, and because this must be done forthwith, I proposed that the walls might be so thick as hereafter on the hall and the chapel other stories might be raised to the height of Colonel Harry's building, to which this will be opposite, and in the meantime to terrace this. This the Council approved.'—Orrery to Ormond, December 28, 1661, Orrery's *State Letters*, p. 31.

We have now reached the time of the making of the Park. But before proceeding with the story it may be convenient to trace the subsequent history of the old Phœnix House. The Duke of Ormond was the last Viceroy to utilise it as a residence. His occupation of the dwelling must have terminated about 1665, when the Viceregal seat was moved, as will shortly be seen, to Chapelizod; but the gardens and stables were maintained for many years. The house itself seems to have been given up to members of the Lord-Lieutenant's staff, and in 1719 was in the occupation of an official called the Gentleman of the Horse.[1] It was still standing when, in 1734, the Duke of Dorset directed the provision of a powder magazine in such part of the Phœnix Park as might seem most proper for the purpose, and the Lords Justices, with that carelessness of historical associations by which the eighteenth century is unhappily distinguished, having fixed on the ground occupied by the old Phœnix House and stables as the most suitable spot, the Viceroy gave orders for the demolition of the buildings.[2] Thus the handsome Jacobean mansion became a thing of the past, and the magazine and fort, whose erection evoked the last satiric spark emitted by Swift's expiring intellect, has ever since occupied the site of his Majesty's House of the Phoenix.[3]

The Duke of Ormond was appointed Lord-Lieutenant in November of 1661, the administration having been previously confided to Lords Justices. But the interminable difficulties besetting the impossible task of devising an act of settlement which should reconcile the contending claims of the successive grantees of the forfeited lands of Ireland delayed his arrival in Ireland until the following July. Immediately on his appointment Ormond communicated with Sir Maurice Eustace, the Irish Chancellor and one of the Lords Justices, as to the most fitting place for the

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[1] Estimate of repairs, 1719, British Departmental Corr., Irish Record Office.

[2] Duke of Dorset to the Lords Justices, 8th Oct., 1734, *ibid.*

[3] 'Behold a proof of Irish sense,
Here Irish wit is seen;
When nothing's left that's worth defence
They build—a magazine!'

Viceregal abode. Eustace recommended the Phœnix as a pleasant summer dwelling-house, which, moreover, was in the near neighbourhood of his own seat at Chapelizod. The Viceroy accordingly gave directions for its enlargement, and on his arrival took up his residence there.[1]

Preoccupied with weightier matters, Ormond's correspondence in 1662 throws no light on the circumstances in which the project for forming the Park originated, but there can be little doubt that it was in the neighbourly intercourse between Viceroy and Chancellor that the suggestion of a deer-park near the Viceregal residence was first mooted. Eustace had already spent a long life mostly in official harness. Appointed Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, with the approval of Strafford, in 1634, he had the address to hold that office through the stormy times that followed, until the advent of Cromwell involved him in misfortunes which culminated in a seven years' captivity at Chester. Liberated in 1658, Eustace returned to Ireland, but was forbidden the exercise of his profession at the bar, at which, prior to these troubles, he had reached the rank of Prime Serjeant. At the Restoration, his sufferings were held to have earned his advancement to the highest judicial office in Ireland.[2] Eustace was old enough to remember the unfulfilled plans of Falkland for the enclosure of the Crown lands of Kilmainham, and Ormond, full of schemes for the improvement of Dublin, had a ready ally in the Chancellor, whose own seat at Harristown was reckoned among the stateliest homes in Ireland. It is, perhaps, doing the old gentleman no injustice to surmise that his satisfaction in the laying out of his Majesty's deer-park was not diminished by the circumstances that the scheme could not be effectually carried out without his own consent and co-operation, and that it presented an opportunity for the advantageous disposal of his property at Chapelizod. Be this as it may, it is certain that the first official mention of the Phœnix Park occurs in a King's letter, dated December 1, 1662, directed to the Lord-Lieutenant, which ratifies the purchase from Eustace of lands contiguous to the Phœnix demesne, and forming part of the manor or lordship of Chapelizod, which the Chancellor had recently acquired.

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[1] Orrery's *State Letters*, p. 31.

[2] For a detailed notice of Sir Maurice Eustace, see *Some Notes on the Irish Judiciary in the reign of Charles II.*, by Francis Elrington Ball.

The original extent of the Crown lands held with the Manor House of the Phœnix cannot have been much above four hundred acres. But by an agreement entered into at the same time as the arrangement with Eustace, about a hundred acres lying to the north-west of the Phœnix demesne, and known as the lands of Newtown, were acquired for a sum of 3,000*l.*[1] This purchase was not completed until 1671, but the lands, which included the site of the present Viceregal Lodge, were at once taken over and walled in. Thus the Park, as at first contemplated, comprised little more than a thousand acres. This was speedily found to be insufficient, and in May 1663 a further King's letter[2]

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[1] Howard's *Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*, ii. p. 261.

[2] The following is the full text of the King's letter to the Duke of Ormond, giving authority for the purchase of further lands for the Phœnix Park:

'Charles R. 1663, May 26. Whitehall.—Right trusty and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, We greet you well; whereas by our letters under our privy signet and sign manual, bearing date the first day of December last, We did authorise you to satisfy unto Sir Maurice Eustace, knight, our Chancellor of Ireland, for the purchase of four hundred forty-one acres of the land of Chappell Izard, to be laid unto our manor house of the Phenix, as by the said letter doth appear, and whereas the quantity of lands designed to make a park for our use near the Phenix do amount to a larger quantity, and will cost more money than we were informed of at the passing our said letter, and that we are now resolved to buy the whole manor and house of Chappell Izard, with the town and lands thereunto belonging, and several other lands which be most convenient to enclose for a park: We do therefore very well approve of your proceedings herein already made, and do by these our letters authorise you to purchase from our said Chancellor, and any other persons having title thereunto, such lands, tenements, and hereditaments for our use as you shall think fit, and to give order to our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, or any other Vice-Treasurer for the time being, for satisfaction of the purchase money that shall be agreed to be paid, so as the same amount not in the whole to above the sum of ten thousand pounds, and also to enclose or impark with a stone wall, in such manner as you have already begun, such lands of our ancient inheritance, or new purchase, as you shall judge fit for that use, and to store the same with deer, giving order to our said Vice-Treasurer or any other Vice-Treasurer for the time being, to make payment of such sums of money from time to time as shall be requisite authorised the purchase from Eustace of 'the whole manor and house of Chappell Izard with the town and lands thereunto belonging, and several other lands which be most convenient to enclose for a park.'[1] The purchase-money was fixed at a maximum of 10,000*l.*, the precise sum being left to arbitration. By the same authority the Lord-Lieutenant was further directed 'to enclose or impark with a stone wall, in such manner as you have already begun, such lands of our ancient inheritance, or new purchase, as you shall judge fit for that use, and to store the same with deer.'

Pursuant to these instructions, lands were accordingly acquired from various persons in Grangegorman and Castleknock; but it was soon evident that the Park was likely to prove far more costly than had been anticipated. Chapelizod alone absorbed the whole of the original 10,000*l.*:[2] a sum much in excess of its value, if, as Lord Essex subsequently reported, the lands had never been worth more than 330*l.* a year in the best times.[3] By 1665 it had become necessary to provide a further sum of 10,000*l.* to satisfy the other proprietors.[4] Between 1665 and 1669 there were

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for doing the said work, and for so doing this shall be a sufficient warrant to you and to our said Vice-Treasurer and to all whom it may concern; Given at our Court at Whitehall, the xxvith day of May, 1663, in the fifteenth year of our reign. By His Majesty's commands, Henry Bennet.'—*Ormonde Papers*, New Series, iii. p. 55.

[1] The vicars of the parishes affected as to tithes or otherwise by the making of the Park were compensated in various degrees. Thus by grant from Charles II. to Dr. James Hierome, Vicar of Chapelizod, dated July 14, 1668, the vicar for the time being for 99 years from that date was entitled to graze two horses and eight cows in the Phœnix Park. See Erck's *Ecclesiastical Register*, pp. 85–90, as to the rights of the vicars of Castleknock and St. James's respectively.

[2] King's Letter, 11th May, 1665, *Ormonde Papers*, New Ser. iii.

[3] Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, ii. App. p. 53.

[4] In the will of Sir Maurice Eustace, made on June 20, 1665, and proved Sept. 20, 1670, occurs the following passage:—'I give to my nephew, Sir Maurice Eustace, all my lands in the county of Dublin, except my manor of Chapel Izod, which I give to his Majesty King Charles the Second for ever, according to an agreement entered into with him, he paying such money as remains due according to the said agreement.'—Orig. Will, Irish Record Office. The act of settlement and explanation (17 and 18 Charles II.) (1664) contained a provision for payment of the balance due to the executors of the late Sir Maurice Eustace, Knt., and for vesting the lands of Chapel Izod in his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever.

several further purchases, of which the most considerable was the acquisition at a cost of 2,270*l.* of the lands of Ashtown with the castle thereon, being the site of the lodge and grounds now occupied by the Under-Secretary. An account presented in 1669 of the expenditure in respect of the Phœnix Park shows an actual outlay at that date of upwards of 18,000*l.*, and a liability of 12,000*l.*, making a total of above 31,000*l.*[1] Provision was made accordingly; but even this large amount did not suffice, the total cost ultimately exceeding 40,000*l.*[2]

As a result of these various additions, the area enclosed in the Park, inclusive of Kilmainham, amounted to above 2,000 acres, or considerably more than its present extent. Ormond had meanwhile lost no time in proceeding with his plans. A contract, which was speedily, if not very effectually, carried out, was entered into for building a wall. The lands on both sides of the river were enclosed by a stone wall which ran down to the river at each side at a point just west of the covered portion of the modern Kingsbridge Station. Those on the south bank of the Liffey embraced the whole space now comprised in the grounds of the Royal Hospital, the boundary running southwards from the Liffey by the present Military Road, turning westward near Bow Bridge and following the course of Kilmainham Lane as far as St. John's Road, whence it ran northwards again to Island Bridge.

The contract for building the Park wall was given to one Dodson. Many of the accounts of this worthy are extant, together with the reports of the officials to whom they were referred by the Irish Privy Council. They make decidedly piquant reading, and suffice to prove that our much-abused Board of Works is after all an improvement on seventeenth-century methods. Dodson for years enjoyed a free hand and a most desirable job. His original estimate amounted to above 4,000*l.*, and specified a wall 10 feet high and 2 feet

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[1] Account of moneys paid for land in Phœnix Park, *Ormonde Papers*, New Ser. iii. 293–5. The precise sum was 31,498*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*

[2] *Exshaw's Magazine*, 1775, p. 213, and *Freeman's Journal*, Feb. 7, 1775.

6 inches thick; and by 1667 Dodson had executed, without demur by the Paymaster, work to the nominal value of 6,000*l.* This, one would suppose, should have provided a sufficiently secure enclosure. The contractor was injudicious enough, however, to demand 100*l.* a year for keeping his own work in repair. This led to investigation. A committee of inquiry reported that the 6,000*l.* expended should have sufficed to erect a wall durable enough to obviate such early need of repair, and certified that the walls were for the most part so badly executed that they could not be repaired without being taken down and relaid. These defects, which they attributed as well to the badness of the material as to the incompetence of the workmen employed, could scarcely be surprising if, as reported by the committee, Dodson had agreed with his sub-contractors to do for 30*l.* that for which he was being paid 100*l.*[1]

As erected by Dodson, the wall, following the exact bounds of the lands, ran in a somewhat irregular course; following on the north the old Castleknock road, and embracing on the south the meadows by the Liffey on which the Kingsbridge Terminus now stands.[2] In 1671 it

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[1] Report of Sir Wm. Flower and others, Oct. 27, 1668, *Ormonde Papers*, New Ser. iii. p. 291.

[2] A Survey of part of Newtown and Kilmainham left out of Phœnix Park by making the wall straight, by Thomas Taylor, 1671. Irish Record Office.

Boundary of the lands of Kilmainham and Newtown. The demesne lands of Kilmainham and Newtown, which were vested in the Crown, and which were granted by King James I. to Sir Edward Fisher, in the year 1611, and again repurchased by the same King in 1617, were bounded as follows:—On the south by the river Liffey from the weir at Island Bridge, eastward to Ellen Hore's meadow, now part of Conyngham Road, and Parkgate Street; east by the rivulet dividing the said lands of Newtown from Oxmantown lands, which rivulet still forms the boundary between the People's Gardens and the Royal Military Infirmary; west and south-west by the lands of Ashtown, Castleknock, and Chapelizod, by an imaginary line from a point in the Viceregal demesne nearly opposite the entrance gate into the Phœnix Park from Blackhorse Lane, almost dividing the Viceregal lodge into two; thence westward to about 80 yards east of the Phœnix Column; thence southward and eastward to a point about 100 yards west of the Magazine Fort; thence south to the weir at Island Bridge. This boundary line may be seen on the Ordnance map (sheet 18) of the county of Dublin, and still forms the boundary line dividing the parish of St. James (the original parish of Kilmainham) from the parishes of Castleknock and Chapelizod.—*Evans.* The information in this note is taken from a manuscript on was resolved to straighten the walls, and several small lots on each side of the river, inclusive of these meadows and amounting to some six acres, were left out. As thus modified, the Park remained unchanged for the next ten years, until, in consequence of the assignment by the king of sixty-four acres on the south side for the use of the newly founded Royal Hospital, the whole of the lands lying south of the Liffey were alienated from the Park. Advantage was taken of this circumstance to obviate the inconvenience caused by the public road to Chapelizod running through the Park: an arrangement which, coupled with Dodson's sorry boundary walls, had been found to lead to the frequent injury and loss of the deer. It was accordingly determined to limit the Park to the lands on the north side of the Liffey, taking the Chapelizod road as the boundary. Dodson being by this time discredited, it was necessary to find a fresh contractor, and for the construction of the new wall a curious arrangement was entered into with a public servant of high distinction. Sir John Temple, who held the office of Solicitor-General from the Restoration to the Revolution, had inherited from his father, the well-known author of a history of the Rebellion, and long the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, large interests in the neighbourhood of the Park which he was desirous of increasing. He now added to his eminent legal functions the *rôle* of builder and contractor, and undertook to build a wall eight feet high from the Park Gate to Chapelizod, in consideration of the sum of 200*l.*, and of a grant of the lands thus omitted from the Park between the road and the river. The contract was duly carried out. The Park assumed the shape it has ever since substantially retained,[1] and the strip of land lying along the river bank

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the Phœnix Park by the late well-known Dublin antiquary, Mr. Evans, who was working at the subject shortly before his lamented death, and whose notes on the Park were subsequently acquired by the writer at the sale of his books. Subsequent notes from this source are marked *Evans*.

[1] So far as the writer is aware, no alteration in the line of the boundary walls seems to have taken place from the erection of Temple's wall until 1786, when the limits of the Park were slightly curtailed at the eastern boundary, near Park Gate, to enable the Wide Street Commissioners to widen the road leading from Barrack Street to Island Bridge.

from Kingsbridge to Chapelizod was added to the possessions of the Temples of Palmerstown.[1]

Meantime neither the delinquencies of Dodson nor the subsequent alteration in the scope of the Park had been allowed to delay the equipment of the lands as a deer-park. Deer were brought from England;[2] and Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, who had already received a patent as Master of his Majesty's Game and Parks in Ireland, was designated as Ranger in 1668. Two keepers were at the same time appointed. There appears also to have been an intention to create an office higher than either of these, that of Lieutenant of the Park, which was intended by Ormond to be held by his son, the gifted Earl of Ossory, in conjunction with the house at Chapelizod acquired from Sir Maurice Eustace.[3] This idea, which was taken from the constitution of the Royal Park at Woodstock, as well as a proposed designation of the Park as Kingsborough Park, was abandoned, and the offices created were confined to those of the Ranger, who was also keeper of the walk of Newtown, with a residence on the site of the present Viceregal Lodge, and of two keepers, one for what was called Kilmainham walk, and the other for the lodge and walk of Ashtown. The Kilmainham keepership was apparently abolished when the lands south of the Liffey were assigned to the Royal Hospital. But another was established at

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[1] The following lands and buildings left outside by the new walls were omitted from the grant to Temple :—'Neither the house at Chapel Izard, nor the courtyards or gardens thereunto belonging, nor the bleaching-yard there, nor the mills or weirs of Kilmainham, or the washhouse there, nor the sixty-four acres of land by oure letters set apart for the new hospital there be contained in such grant.' See the patent at Irish Record Office.

[2] Lord Dungannon in his capacity of Ranger lost no time in storing the park with deer. The account of expenditure already cited includes two items of 200*l.* each in successive years for his purchase of deer stock; and sums of 34*l.* and 59*l.* for bringing them over. The deer came mostly from the south of England, and some not improbably from Woodstock, which in the patent appointing Dungannon is quoted as the model of a royal park, and was then well stocked with deer. See, as to the stocking of the deer, Russell and Prendergast's Report on the *Carte Papers*, pp. 191-2; and, as to Deer Parks in Ireland, an excellent paper by Mr. T. P. Le Fanu on 'The Royal Forest of Glencree,' *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1893, p. 268.

[3] Draft King's Letter to Attorney-General, Ormonde MSS., undated.

Castleknock Gate, with a residence on the site of Mountjoy Barracks. The separate establishment of Ranger and keeper lasted far into the eighteenth century ; the last to hold the Rangership as a separate office being Nathaniel Clements, the builder of the Viceregal Lodge. In 1785 the two offices were amalgamated in the person of Sackville Hamilton, then Under-Secretary, and thenceforward were held for many years, together with the Lodge of Ashtown, by the Under-Secretary for the time being. This latter arrangement lasted without interruption down to 1830, when the control of the Park was handed over to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests,[1] the predecessors of the Board of Works. Ten years later, on the death of Thomas Drummond, who was the last Under-Secretary to hold the position, the office of Ranger of the Phœnix Park was finally abolished.[2] But the charming residence in the Park, formerly Ashtown Castle, and certain delectable perquisites in the shape of venison from the Park preserves, survive to remind the present occupant of the ancient glories of his office.[3]

A public improvement on a scale so magnificent naturally attracted attention, and the opulent possibilities of a demesne so close to the capital to which Ormond had successfully attracted the Irish nobility as a place of residence soon excited the cupidity of the rapacious favourites who thronged the Court of St. James. Ormond, entangled in the same web of intrigue which had procured the disgrace of his old friend Clarendon, was removed from his post in 1668.

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[1] Statute 10 Geo. IV., cap. 50.

[2] Letter from the Commissioners of Woods, &c., to Lord Morpeth, Irish State Paper Office. The writer has to thank Sir David Harrel, late Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle, for this reference. For a list of the Rangers see p. 73 *infra*.

[3] Various official notabilities seem to have enjoyed these perquisites in the eighteenth century. The following were among the regular recipients between 1765 and 1777 : The Lord Mayor of Dublin, the Sheriffs, the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Prime Serjeant, and the Commissioner of Revenue. The Master of the Guild of Merchants received a brace of bucks 'every third year when the franchises are ridden.' *Brit. Dep. Corr.*, Irish Record Office.

With the withdrawal of his authority, the future of the Park he had been at such pains to form was soon endangered.[1] It was first promised to the ill-starred Duke of Monmouth, who, however, withdrew his request for it in deference to the remonstrances evoked from Ireland by the proposal. But ere long the Park became the subject of a more serious intrigue. On the death of Lord Dungannon in 1672, the Rangership was bestowed on Sir Henry, afterwards Lord Brouncker, a Court favourite with a shady reputation, whose sufficient epitaph is an unsavoury paragraph in Pepys's 'Diary,' but who should be mentioned with charity as the brother of the first President of the Royal Society.[2] Brouncker belonged to the section of Charles II.'s Court which, before she had been superseded in the royal graces by younger rivals, revolved in the brilliant orbit of Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. To her the new Ranger suggested that a grant of the Phœnix Park would be a fruitful source of enrichment, and this was readily accorded by the easy Sovereign. Instructions to pass the patent were sent to Arthur Capel, Lord Essex, who had shortly before entered on a Viceroyalty still commemorated in Dublin by Capel Street and, until recently, by Essex Bridge.[3] The action of Essex on the occasion was worthy of a statesman who has left a name among the most honourable in the eminent roll of Irish Viceroys. Like Chichester sixty-six years earlier, in the case of Sir Richard Sutton, he suspended the patent till the King could be brought to consider his objections; and he wrote energetically to Arlington, Shaftesbury, and other Ministers, desiring them to exert their influence to procure a revocation of the grant. The Duchess, however, though past the zenith of her charms, still retained much of her influence with Charles, and not many were willing to peril their own positions by thwarting so powerful a personage. It took two months of incessant remonstrance to prevail with the King to cancel his gift, and even then Charles only did so upon a promise that lands to the value of 1,000*l.* a year should be found for the disappointed lady.[1] Essex was much assisted in his representations by his predecessor, who was keenly desirous of preserving the Park to the Crown and the capital. It was on this occasion that Ormond met the angry and unmannerly reproaches of the Duchess of Cleveland with the admirable example of the retort-courteous recorded by Carte. Meeting the Duke at Court her Grace publicly upbraided him with his opposition to her interests, concluding an animated tirade with the expression of her hope that she might live to see him hanged. To all which Ormond, having heard the frail beauty out, only replied that he was not in so much haste to put an end to her Grace's days, for all he wished in regard to her was that he might live to see her old.[2] A further attempt to procure a grant of the Park seems to have been made in 1679 by Sir James Edwardes, but this also was defeated by the intervention of Ormond.[3]

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[1] *Essex Papers*, ed. Osmund Airy, Camden Society's Publications, i. p. 59.

[2] 'Henry Brouncker erected a large brick house on that portion of Oxmantown hill which was added to the Newtown lands, overlooking the pond, which he named Newtown Lodge, and which was the first official residence (other than the Phœnix House built by Fisher) erected within the Park; and so continued till about 1760. Thenceforth it was the residence of the deer keepers till 1835, when all the land enclosed with it was granted to the Zoological Society and Newtown Lodge was demolished. This lodge was long known as the Ivy House.'—*Evans.*

[3] Renamed Grattan Bridge in 1875.

We have already seen that the lands acquired from Sir Maurice Eustace included the mansion-house of Chapelizod, which had been occupied for some time by the Chancellor as his residence. How Eustace had become possessed of this property does not precisely appear, but in 1657 the house had been in the occupation of Colonel Theophilus Jones, a soldier who, alike under protectorate and monarchy, succeeded in securing his full share of the good things that were going in an era of confiscation. Jones had, however, incurred the suspicion of the Parliamentary leaders in 1659, and had quitted Dublin for a time, and it was, perhaps, from David Edwards, who appears in the Census of 1659 as among the three 'tituladoes' of Chapelizod, that Eustace had purchased it in the following year. The house with its garden stood between the river and the Chapelizod road, a little beyond the present Roman Catholic church. The green meadows, margined by a few decaying remnants of formerly abundant timber, which run down to the north bank of the Liffey, a little westward of the new University Boat Club premises on the opposite side, still reveal to a careful survey some traces of their former stateliness. When first taken over by Ormond, the house and grounds lay within the Park. Though excluded from its precincts by Sir John Temple's wall, they were excepted from the grant of severed land by which Temple was remunerated, and preserved as the Viceregal residence, a character which they retained for a full century from their first acquisition by the Crown.

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[1] *Essex Letters from Ireland in* 1675. And see the *Essex Papers*, i. p. 58. Several letters of Essex on the same subject not printed by Mr. Airy are in the British Museum (Stowe MSS. vol. cci.).

[2] The date—1664—assigned by Carte to this incident is manifestly incorrect. There were other and potent causes for Barbara Villiers's dislike of Ormond. It is recorded of his Duchess that 'she was very stiff with regard to the King's mistresses; and would never wait on the Duchess of Cleveland, who in return never forgave the slight.'—*Carte*, ii. pp. 276, 537.

[3] Russell and Prendergast's *Report on the Carte Papers*, p. 184.

Here a succession of Viceroys and Deputies, including Ormond himself, his sons Lords Ossory and Arran,[1] Essex, Clarendon, and Tyrconnel, constantly resided down to the Revolution; and though the straitened finances of the times could not afford any large expenditure on the place, the King's House was evidently regarded by its tenants as a desirable abode. Essex, in the correspondence already referred to, dwells with animation on the importance of the Park residence as an alternative to the unwholesomeness of the Castle, and from the correspondence of Henry, Lord Clarendon, who preceded Tyrconnel as Viceroy, some idea of its character may be gleaned. Both Clarendon and his wife were correspondents of the accomplished Evelyn. The Countess—'a blue who looked like a madwoman and talked like a scholar'— writes to the author of 'Sylva,' lamenting her coming to a country which he had not cultivated, but with evident enjoyment of her surroundings, though she deplored a deficiency of trees and shrubs. Clarendon himself describes to the same friend the fertility of the extensive kitchen gardens attached to the place, dwelling with the gusto of a gourmand on the excellence of the asparagus.[1] Clarendon was followed at Chapelizod by Tyrconnel, who lay ill there before joining James II. in the decisive struggle for the crown of the Three Kingdoms. The next occupant of 'the King's House' was the victor of the Boyne. William III., the only Sovereign prior to George IV. who at any time dwelt in any of the residences attached to the Park, came to Chapelizod at the end of the stirring month which witnessed the defeat of his rival. Three royal proclamations, one of them ordaining a day of humiliation and prayer 'for the future progress of our arms and a speedy enjoyment of peace and quietness in the land,' are dated from 'Our Court at Chapelizod.'[2]

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[1] Lord Arran's first wife, Lady Mary Stewart, died at the King's House, July 4, 1668.

After William's departure the King's House continued to be utilised by his representatives; but from the death of Henry, Lord Capel, which unfortunately occurred there in 1701, the place seems to have had no attraction for succeeding Governors. The Viceroys of the eighteenth century were, in any case, for the most part absentees, and from the accession of George I. it does not appear that many of them resided at Chapelizod. Deserted by the Viceroys, the house was given over to the Lords Justices, and was allowed to fall into considerable decay. But the Duke of Grafton and Lord Galway, who governed Ireland as Lords Justices during the Viceroyalty of the Duke of Shrewsbury, effected some improvements. Lord Galway erected a pigeon-house which still stands in the grounds. Primate Boulter,[3] who obtained leave from Lord Carteret to occupy the place, made some attempt towards restoring it in 1726, and for some years the King's House seems to have recovered its former glory. The Duke of Dorset, whose Court was of exceptional brilliancy, resided there in 1731, and it is at this date that we find the entertaining

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[1] See also Clarendon's *State Letters*, ii. p. 100, both as to the maintenance of Chapelizod and the condition of Dublin Castle.

[2] *Ormonde Papers*, ii. pp. 443, 445.

[3] Primate Boulter's *Letters*, i. pp. 116–122; ii. pp. 139, 140. Dublin edition.

Mrs. Delany, then Mrs. Pendarves, describing the attractions of the Park with her usual sprightliness. 'It is,' she writes, 'a large extent of ground, very fine turf, agreeable prospects, and a delightful wood, in the midst of which is a ring where the beaux and belles resort in fair weather. Indeed, I never saw a spot of ground more to my taste: it is far beyond St. James's or Hyde Park.'[1] The ring referred to was the open space in which the Phœnix Column now stands, and was at that time entirely, as it is still in part, surrounded by trees.[2] The latest reference to the King's House as an official residence occurs in another letter from the same accomplished lady, who in May 1750 dined at Chapelizod, 'a sweet place about two miles from Dublin, belonging to the Government,' then lent to William Barnard, the Bishop of Derry, who doubtless owed the privilege to his connection with the most eminent of the then Lords Justices, the masterful Primate Stone. In 1743 the house was put in order for the reception of Lord Chesterfield, but that nobleman, though he greatly admired the Park and exerted himself to improve it, seems to have resided at the Castle during his stay in Dublin.

From this time forward the place ceased to be valued except for the extensive gardens attached to it, which were abundantly stocked with fruit trees and vegetables. The house fell year by year into ever-increasing decay; and the State records contain many piteous appeals from its custodians for the execution of the repairs necessary to prevent absolute dilapidation.[3] Ultimately, on the arrival of the Duke of Bedford in 1758, it was determined to dispense with the residence, and the King's House was two years later given over to his Majesty's Regiment of Artillery as quarters for the officers of that corps. As such

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Correspondence of Mrs. Delany, i. p. 294, and v. p. 547.

[2] 'About ten acres of the land adjacent to the Phœnix Column was beautifully laid out in square plots, planted with flowering shrubs and evergreens and gravel walks by Lord Chesterfield for the benefit and enjoyment of the citizens of Dublin. All these improvements are still to be seen laid down on Rocque's Map of the County of Dublin, 1756.'—*Evans.*

[3] *British Departmental Correspondence*, Irish Record Office.

it continued to be utilised for the next sixty years or so, and readers of Le Fanu's tale of 'The House by the Churchyard' will remember references to the King's House in this capacity. In 1832 the place with its adjoining ground was sold by the Government. Thenceforward the very name of the King's House was lost save as a local tradition, though it is still retained on the maps of the Ordnance Survey. The building itself was destroyed by fire and replaced by a modern house. Only some out-houses, the pigeon-house already referred to, and an ornamental pond in the grounds survive to mark the site of the last royal residence in Ireland.

Though Chapelizod as a residence began to go out of fashion with the opening of George II.'s reign, the Park, as a place of resort, continued popular, and efforts were made by more than one Lord-Lieutenant to contribute to its improvement. In the public mind no name is so closely associated with the Phœnix Park as that of the fourth Earl of Chesterfield. But curiously little evidence remains to attest that viceroy's share in its improvement and the interest he undoubtedly took in it, beyond the substantial memorial which the Phœnix Pillar still affords, and in which he embalmed that misconception of the origin of the name of the Park which he was the first to consecrate with official authority. The tradition of the probable origin of the name, already mentioned, was doubtless lost through the transference of the Viceregal seat from the Phœnix House to Chapelizod, and the non-residence of the Viceroys for a long period. The Irish Court of the first half of the eighteenth century knew little and, if possible, cared less about Irish etymology, and the confusion of the name with the mythical bird was a natural one in a nobleman who affected a classical elegance in his correspondence. Even before Chesterfield's time, Mrs. Delany, in the letter already quoted, displayed the same misapprehension of the meaning of the name, and wrote of 'the Park, justly called the Phœnix,' as though the title had been chosen in boastful assertion of the superiority of the Park to all other places of the kind. Lord

Chesterfield undoubtedly did a good deal to improve the appearance of the Park by judicious planting, and greatly increased its attraction to the citizens of Dublin by forming a road planted with elms on either side, which was long known as, and still deserves to be denominated, the Chesterfield Road. But neither his published letters nor those still extant in manuscript in the Newcastle Papers at the British Museum contain any references to the improvements he effected.[1]

For many years after the abandonment of the King's House the representatives of the Crown in Ireland remained without any official residence, and the improvidence which had surrendered Chapelizod must have been lamented by Lord Townshend and his successors when, in 1767, Chatham ordained that the King's Lieutenants should reside in Ireland. Townshend apparently entertained some idea of building a mansion in the Park, but did not remain in the Government long enough to give effect to it.[2] His successor, Lord Harcourt, lived at St. Wolfstan's, near Lucan. It was not until 1781 that steps were taken by the then Viceroy, Lord Carlisle, and his Chief Secretary, William Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, towards acquiring the residences of the Park officials for the use of the Government.

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[1] 'Lord Chesterfield constructed a new road through the Park from the Dublin gate to Castleknock. On either side of this road he planted elm trees in clumps of seven or eight each, many of which are yet standing. . . . This old road made by Lord Chesterfield is yet to be seen, together with the clumps of old elms which ornamented it, viz.: from the road leading to the Zoological Gardens at the Gough Statue, along through the nine acres, now the polo ground, close to the Viceregal demesne and out at the Phœnix Column; thence in a southerly course intersecting the roads leading to Knockmaroon and to the Mountjoy Barracks, now the Ordnance Survey Office, and again taking a northerly bend terminated at Castleknock Gate; but outside that gate it was continued to Castleknock, as at present. The whole extent of this old road from Park Gate Street to Castleknock Gate appears on Sheet 18 of the early Ordnance Map of Dublin, on which the proposed new road (made in 1805 by the Board of Woods and Forests) is marked with dotted lines.'—*Evans.*

[2] Just before this date the Hibernian School was founded. The original grant of land by the Crown in 1766 was 'a piece of land, part of our Phœnix Park, next adjoining to our Garden at Chapelizod containing 3 acres Irish measure.' But a year later, it being pointed out that the low situation selected was unwholesome, the present site of the School was granted instead.

Of these there were then four:—the lodges respectively belonging to the Ranger, the Bailiff, the Keeper, and Charles Gardiner, afterwards Lord Mountjoy. The third of these was then occupied, as already explained, by the Under-Secretary, in his capacity of Keeper, while the fourth was in the possession of Gardiner, by whom it had been built, and who had retained it as private property after the surrender of a patent as Keeper which he had obtained in 1756. The Ranger at this time was the Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements, father of the first Lord Leitrim, who, shortly after his appointment in 1751, had built the present Viceregal Lodge on the site of the old lodge of Newtown. Negotiations for the acquisition of this house for the use of the Lord-Lieutenant were entered into in 1781, and in July of the following year were completed by the payment to Mr. Robert Clements of a sum of 10,000*l.*[1]

The Park appears to have been well cared for by the Ranger and other officials responsible for it down to the accession of George II.; and in the departmental correspondence at the Irish Record Office down to that date are frequent references to expenditure on drainage and repairs to roads.[2] A very considerable part of the Park, especially that in the neighbourhood of the Phœnix Pillar and Viceregal Lodge, is naturally of a very swampy and boggy character; and large sums were required to drain the surface and make the roads sound. In the middle of the eighteenth century much less attention seems to have been bestowed on these matters, and the soil relapsed, as boggy land is apt to do, to its original character. At the time when the Viceregal Lodge was acquired by the Government, deterioration had spread to a very serious extent. 'The roads and surface of this Park continue in a damned state,' wrote Eden to Sir John Blaquiere in 1781.[1] Owing, as the Chief Secretary complained, to the number of the 'co-existing potentates of the Park,' it was difficult to fix responsibility on anyone; so that between Ranger, Keeper, and Bailiff, what was everyone's business was nobody's business, and the due care of the place was scandalously neglected.[2] In another letter, Eden called the Bailiff's attention to the grievous results of this carelessness. 'Two or three hundred tents,' he wrote, 'for the sale of whisky were permitted to be established in the beginning of last week, and are still standing in full vigour, to the great detriment of the trees and turf, and the destruction of the cows, sheep, and deer.'[3]

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[1] Letter from Sackville Hamilton, July 13, 1782. Irish Record Office.

[2] 'November, 1782—Phœnix Park—I saw with Mr. Clements a plan of improvements proposed to be made in the Phœnix Park by James Donnell. He therein proposes to plant it in many places, to remove some of the clumps of trees planted by Lord Chesterfield in order to abolish regularity; to drain and make new roads, to build a masked bridge across the pond next Dublin Gate; to build a triangular tower or observatory, with round towers at each corner; but where this should be erected he does not mention. This man lately lived with Lady Massereene at Leixlip as gardener, &c., but from his map, he must have some knowledge of surveying, as well as that of gardening and improvement. He was last year employed by Mr. Eden, Secretary to Lord Carlisle, to drain the S. side of the 15 acres, and level all the small ditches about it; also to make several additional plantations, as at the wall behind Chapelizod, the Ring, &c., &c.'—*Diary of Austin Cooper.*

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[1] Auckland MSS., Aug. 25, 1781; Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 34418, f. 60.

[2] June 6, 1781, Addit. MS. 34417.

[3] It would appear from the following extract from the *Life of Thomas Drummond*, the well-known Under Secretary for Ireland under Lord Melbourne's administration, that this nuisance remained unabated for something like half a century:—'The following account of the suppression by Mr. Drummond of the fairs that formerly used to be held on Sundays in the Phœnix Park is supplied by his sister:—"On the Sunda afternoons and evenings crowds used to assemble in the Phœnix Park. Drinking booths were opened, and few Sundays passed without riot and mischief ensuing. My brother talked over the matter with some friends, who told him he must not dream of interfering, because it was a very old custom, and it would not do to attempt to put it down. He resolved, however, that he would make the attempt; so one Sunday afternoon, the people having assembled as usual, and the booths being erected, he rode out unattended among the crowd. To the keeper of the nearest booth he represented the consequences of the meetings—drunkenness, brawls, fighting, and then punishment. He said these things were to him very painful, and that it would give him great satisfaction could the meetings be altogether given up. The man immediately, without a word of remonstrance, complaint, or even a show of sullenness, set about packing up. He quickly left the grounds, and never returned again. The same result followed at other booths, and in a short time the Park was cleared, and the 'old custom' given up for ever." There is evidence that he did not leave the result to depend altogether on moral suasion. As Ranger of the Park, he issued placards prohibiting the meetings; and for several successive Sundays he massed the police in considerable force in the neighbourhood of the Park, to make effectual the prohibition.'—M'Lennan's *Memoirs of Thomas Drummond*, p. 404.

It appears from other sources that Blaquiere had given disgracefully little attention to the proper keeping of the Park, and that in his anxiety to make a profit out of the right of grazing which was a part of his patent he had greatly injured the deer.[1]

The Government appears to have quickly repented of its purchase of the Lodge; for it was no sooner acquired by Lord Carlisle than his successor, the Duke of Portland, sought to get rid of it, and the political circumstances of the moment suggested a graceful occasion for disposing of what the new Viceroy evidently regarded as a white elephant. It was proposed to present the Lodge and grounds to Henry Grattan, and thus to associate the Crown with the people in doing honour to the illustrious author of the legislative liberties which had just been conceded to Ireland. Mr. Connolly was accordingly deputed to assure the House of Commons 'that the Duke of Portland felt equally with the Irish people the high value of Mr. Grattan's services to Ireland, and that, as the highest proof he could give of his admiration and respect, the Lord-Lieutenant begged to offer, as part of the intended grant to Mr. Grattan, the Viceregal Palace in the Phœnix Park, to be settled on Mr. Grattan and his heirs for ever as a suitable residence for so meritorious a person.' So flattering an offer, conveyed in a manner so gracious, as the gift of the King's only palace in Ireland, seemed likely for a moment to achieve the impossible, and to unite the Government and people of Ireland in the person of Grattan. But it was only for a moment. The Opposition soon affected to discover that the Viceregal compliment was no better than a base attempt to divide the merit of the nation's gift to its liberator between the people and the Ministry. As Sir Jonah Barrington puts it, 'this magnificent and unexampled offer, at first view, appeared flattering and showy, at the second it appeared deceptious, and at the third inadmissible'; and the offer was eventually declined.[2]

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[1] Wm. Low to Nathaniel Clements, March 23, 1778, *Brit. Dep. Corr.*, 1760–1789, Irish Record Office.

[2] Sir Jonah Barrington's *Historic Memoirs of Ireland*, ii. p. 34. See also as to this episode Lecky's *History of England*, iv. p. 559.

The Lodge now known as the Chief Secretary's was acquired from Sir John Blaquiere at the same time.[1] It is the latest in date of the existing Lodges in the Park, and the circumstances in which it originated deserve to be noticed. The patents of appointment of the Keepers of the Park required the holders 'faithfully and diligently to discharge and execute the office and trust of keeper, and either in person or by some trusty servant, constantly to walk the round of the said Park.'[2] The patentees, being gentlemen of position, invariably discharged their duties through a deputy known as the bailiff. For this functionary a salary of 9*l.*, with living allowances and a small residence, was provided in the estimates, and the office became in time the subject of an eminently characteristic eighteenth-century job. On the death, in 1774, of one Crosthwaite, who had for many years filled the office of bailiff, the well-known politician, Sir John Blaquiere,[3] then Irish Secretary in Lord Harcourt's administration, had procured for himself the appointment to this humble berth. He had at the same time obtained a lease of a plot of land adjacent to the bailiff's lodge, which he proceeded to enclose, and on which a handsome house was thereupon erected at the public expense. Blaquiere being at the time unpopular, the job created a great outcry; and the Opposition, fastening on the transaction as a convenient weapon for attacking the Government, the enclosure of the ground granted to Blaquiere was represented as an alienation to private aggrandisement of lands dedicated to the public use. Proceedings were taken to test his title,[4] and the Grand Jury of the County Dublin presented for the removal of the wall round the ground of the new Lodge 'as an encroachment on the public and a nuisance to his Majesty's subjects, who have been accustomed to pass on horseback from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary.' Thereupon the

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[1] Country Letters, Irish Record Office.

[2] Ormond to Flower, May 28, 1664. *Carte Papers*, Bodleian Library.

[3] Howard's *Parliamentary History of Ireland*, 3rd Rep. of *Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. p. 433. See also Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* for 1775.

[4] Affidavit of John Morrison, Dec. 19, 1774, Crown Office, King's Bench.

Crown was obliged to defend the exercise of the prerogative in the grant to Blaquiere, and application was made to the King's Bench to quash the presentment.[1] The application was at first refused by the Court, but an issue being directed to ascertain the question of the title of the Crown, a trial at bar ensued at Green Street in which the circumstances under which the Park was formed were put in evidence. The jury, finding in favour of the traverser, the character of the Park as the property of the Crown was thereby established, and the presentment was quashed.[2] Sir John Blaquiere remained in the enjoyment of the Lodge until 1782, several years after he had ceased to be Secretary, when he was so fortunate as to receive 7,000*l.* from the Government, as the price of the surrender of a lease for three lives, under which he held the house which the State had built for him. Yelverton, who was one of the counsel in support of the presentment, made the capture by Blaquiere of the petty employment of Bailiff the target for much forensic ridicule, and the nickname of 'the King's Cowboy,' which the great advocate applied to him, stuck to the Secretary for a long time. Some mock-heroic verses, entitled, 'Blaquiere's Triumph,' appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*,[3] and a less ephemeral memorial of an incident which furnished much amusement to the wits of Dublin is preserved in 'Pranceriana.'[4]

The more recent history of the Phœnix Park, considered topographically, has been quite uneventful; and with the final acquisition by the Crown of the various residences within its boundaries this record of its origin and formation may fairly close.

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[1] The King *v.* Bradshaw, Crown Office Records, King's Bench, Feb. 6, 1775, *Exshaw's Monthly Chronologer* for 1775, p. 213.

[2] The *Freeman's Journal*, Feb. 7, 1775.

[3] Feb. 10, 1775.

[4] 2nd edition, i. p. 137. See also McDougall's *Irish Political Characters*, p. 150.

APPENDIX

A list of the Rangers of the Phœnix Park, from the institution of the office in 1661 *to its abolition in* 1840.

(*Compiled from the Liber Munerum Hiberniæ and other Sources.*)

1661. Marcus Trevor, Viscount Dungannon.
1672. Sir Henry Brouncker, afterwards 2nd Lord Brouncker.
1674. Adam Loftus, afterwards Viscount Lisburne.
1676. Edward Brabazon, afterwards 1st Earl of Meath.
1677. July 2. William Ryder.
1677. September 13. William Ryder and Edward Richbell.
1698. Sir William Fownes, Bart., and Henry Petty, 1st Earl of Shelburne.
1704. Sir Thomas Smith, Bart.
1736. Sir John Ligonier, afterwards Viscount Ligonier.
1751. Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements.
1761. Lord George Sackville.
1785. Sackville Hamilton.
1795. Lodge Morris.
1796. Edward Cooke.
1801. Alexander Marsden.
1806. James Trail.
1808. Sir Charles Saxton.
1812. Sir William Gregory.
1830. Sir William Gossett.
1835–40. Thomas Drummond.

III

HIS MAJESTY'S REGIMENT OF GUARDS IN IRELAND

1661–1798

The addition to the strength of the British army, in the last year of Queen Victoria's reign, of a regiment of Irish Guards was hailed with acclamation at the time as an appropriate compliment to the soldierly qualities of Irishmen, and as a graceful recognition of the valour displayed by Irish troops on the battle-fields of South Africa. But the innovation was also criticised, on the other hand, as a somewhat tardy recognition of the claims of Ireland to a share in the honour of furnishing those regiments which are most closely associated with the personal service of the Sovereign, and which have enjoyed for centuries a traditional precedence in the regimental roll. It is not a little curious that an episode so interesting in the history of Irish arms as the raising of the first regiment of Irish Guards should have been so completely forgotten. Yet it is a fact that what was greeted as a belated innovation was really only a revival of a corps which is coeval in antiquity with the institution of the standing army, and which, under the title of 'His Majesty's Regiment of Guards in Ireland,' enjoyed a distinguished reputation for valour and military efficiency at a most interesting period of Irish history.

An attempt is here made to trace the record of a regiment which anciently held a distinguished place at the head of the military establishment of Ireland, and to recall the history of the remarkable corps which constituted the flower of the Irish army from the Restoration to the Revolution. And the inquiry is not the less interesting because it is in this Restoration Regiment of Irish Guards that we shall find the origin of one of the most eminent of the distinguished corps which subsequently constituted the Irish Brigade abroad. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the history of any regiment displays a more varied career. For disbanded after the Boyne, the units of the regiment took service abroad, and achieved under a succession of brilliant officers an honourable place in the military history of eighteenth-century France. And preserving in exile that fealty to the principle of hereditary right which, combined with devotion to the Roman Catholic faith, had led its officers to adhere through evil days to the fallen fortunes of James II., the remnant renewed, on the fall of Louis XVI., their allegiance to the sovereign of the Three Kingdoms, and were re-enrolled for a brief period in the ranks of the British army.

The oblivion into which the origin of the regiment has fallen is, however, explained in great part by the circumstance that the compilers of Irish military history have given but scanty attention to the records of Irish regiments at home. For example, O'Conor's 'Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation,' useful as an account of the exploits of the Irish Brigade abroad, is absolutely silent on the military establishment of Ireland at the Restoration. D'Alton, again, in his 'Historical and Genealogical Illustrations of King James's Army List,' begins, as is natural, only with Tyrconnel's Viceroyalty. And though O'Callaghan, in his admirably minute and exhaustive 'History of the Irish Brigade in the service of France,' does not omit all notice of the origin of the distinguished regiments whose subsequent careers he traces in so much detail, his references to their pre-Revolution story are brief and parenthetic. To this explanation of our ignorance of the earliest records of the first regiment of Irish Guards it may be added that it is only in years comparatively recent that the materials for tracing the origin of the regiment with any semblance of completeness have become available.[1]

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[1] No investigator in this field of our seventeenth-century history can fail to acknowledge a large debt to the late Sir John Gilbert, who, by his labours as editor of the Ormonde Manuscripts and of the Records of the Corporation of Dublin, has thrown open to the students of seventeenth-century Ireland two splendid treasuries of historical, topographical, and antiquarian lore. And from both of these sources much light is to be derived concerning the Irish Guards.

The process by which the regiments raised by various Royalist officers became the parents of several of the most distinguished of existing regiments has its best known examples in the Grenadier Guards and the Coldstream Guards, and need not be delineated here. And the circumstances which, immediately following on the Restoration, led to the institution of a standing army, and laid the foundations of the existing military system of the United Kingdom, are familiar to every student of our political and constitutional history. But it may be well to glance at the beginning of the system in Great Britain, since it was there that the model was provided for the military establishment which, on the appointment of the Duke of Ormond to the Viceroyalty, was at once instituted in Ireland. Especially is this necessary to the elucidation of the origin of the Irish Guards, because the conception of a regiment directly associated with the Crown, a regiment formed to be, in fact as well as in name, 'His Majesty's Guards,' goes back to a period prior to the Restoration.

Four years before his return to England, Charles II., hopeless of the renewal of even such ineffectual and half-hearted succour as had been extended to him at the beginning of his exile by the French Court, imagined that he had found in Spain the assistance necessary to regain his throne. Under the inspiration of Mazarin, Louis XIV. had become convinced of the permanence of the Cromwellian *régime*, and had ceased to give any serious encouragement to the English Royalists. Charles had therefore turned for aid from Paris to Madrid. In connection with a project for the invasion of England by a Spanish expedition, it was resolved to organise, for service with the Spanish forces in the Low Countries, the considerable soldiery which had accompanied their Sovereign abroad, and had earned distinction in the armies commanded by Turenne.[1] Accordingly, several regiments, both British and Irish, were gathered together into a division, and placed under the Spanish commander in Flanders. The English officers, by whom Charles was more immediately surrounded, were formed into what was called a Royal Regiment of Guards under Lord Wentworth, and some regiments of Irish were organised at the same time.[1] The command of the largest of these, a corps seven hundred strong, was assigned to the Marquis of Ormond ; it was quartered near Bruges, and ultimately took part in the unsuccessful operations at Dunkirk. The officers included many of the Confederate Catholic officers who had fled from Ireland.[2]

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[1] 'The Spanish army, after being near Turenne at Quesnoy for some days, has now gone to besiege the town of Condé. Many of the Irish in the Regiment of Guards are said to be killed. Ormond's nephew Muskery, with his regiment, was on Turenne's side.'—Peter Talbot to Ormond, from Brussels, July 24, 1656. Macray's *Cal. of Clarendon State Papers*, iii. p. 148.

Wentworth's Regiment of Guards survived the ill-success of Charles II.'s negotiations for aid from Spain. Remaining abroad at the Restoration as part of the garrison of Dunkirk, it escaped inclusion in that general disbandment of the army of the Commonwealth, in September 1660, which was among the first acts of the restored monarchy. The young Sovereign, however, whose whole conception of the kingly dignity was coloured by his familiarity with continental courts, had no intention of remaining without a personal guard; and at the very moment which witnessed the dispersion of the remnant of Cromwell's Ironsides, he entrusted Colonel John Russell, a brother of the Duke of Bedford, with a commission to raise a regiment of Foot Guards, twelve hundred strong, under the title of the King's Royal Regiment of Guards. Lord Wentworth's earlier formed regiment remained abroad until the sale of Dunkirk, when it came to England, where it was maintained as a distinct corps during Wentworth's life. But on the death of its colonel, three years later, on the eve of the outbreak of the Dutch War, Wentworth's was merged in Colonel Russell's regiment, to which the existing regiment of Grenadier Guards proudly traces its origin.[1]

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[1] Clarendon's account of the matter is as follows : 'The King resolved to raise one regiment of Guards, the command whereof he gave to the Lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men till his Majesty should be in such a posture that they might be brought about his person. The Marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant-colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over.'—*History of the Rebellion*, xv. p. 68.

[2] Sir F. Hamilton, in his *History of the Grenadier Guards*, mentions that Charles I., during his stay at Oxford in 1642–3, had raised a regiment which was known as 'The King's Guards,' and states that 'the Regiment of King's Guards, as well as all the rest of the Royalist troops in England, ceased to exist as regiments in 1646–7 ; and the English troops raised subsequently by Charles II., with which he endeavoured to recover the Crown of his ancestors, were disbanded after the battle of Worcester in 1651 ; so that though we trace among the officers of the Regiment of Guards which Charles II. raised in Flanders many Royalists who had either served in the King's Guards or in other corps during the Civil War, both in the time of Charles I. and II., there is no connection as a regiment between these two corps of Guards' (vol. i. p. 8). It appears, however, from a letter published in the *Ormonde Papers* (vol. i. p. 97), that Wentworth's regiment existed in some form in 1649 :—'Thomas Wentworth to Edward Broughton. Breda, June 24, 1649. You are to receive such men as shall be delivered you on shipboard as part of a regiment to (*sic*) the King's Guards, and you to command them as sergeant-major to the said regiment, and at your landing in Ireland you are to obey such orders and directions as you shall receive from the Marquis of Ormond, the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom of Ireland.' It is noticeable that this letter is addressed by the subsequent colonel of Charles II.'s post-Restoration Guards to an officer who afterwards held a commission in that regiment. The letter is addressed, 'For Major Edward Broughton, Major to the King's Guard of Foot.'

No one who has had occasion to consider the character of the arrangements made upon the Restoration for the machinery of the constitution and the equipment of the public service can have failed to be struck by the closeness with which the institutions of every sort set up in Great Britain were followed in the organisation of the Irish Government. The formal constitution of a standing army by Charles II., and the formation of his Majesty's Regiment of Guards, took place early in 1661. It does not appear how far, if at all, the King's advisers then contemplated the provision of a separate military establishment for Ireland. It is probable that the question remained in abeyance until after the selection of the first Restoration Viceroy, an appointment which was delayed until the autumn of that year. But when the Duke of Ormond was appointed to the Viceroyalty, he was careful to imitate in all respects, as far as possible, the model provided in England. The establishment for Ireland, both civil and military, followed closely upon the lines laid down by Clarendon and the other advisers of Charles II. Ormond was given a free hand in Ireland, 'the places, as well in the martial as civil list, being left freely to his disposing.' He at once proceeded to exercise his authority, by providing for the civil and military needs of Ireland upon a scale of great magnificence. And as a means both of emphasising the dignity of the Viceregal office, and of supplying an efficient force for service in emergency, one of his first steps was to procure a commission to raise a regiment of Guards for service in Ireland.[1] Accordingly, on April 23, 1662, a commission for this purpose was issued to the Viceroy.[2]

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[1] Sir F. Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, pp. 30–34.

The Duke of Ormond having received his commission he lost no time in acting on the authority thus given to him. On the following day the regiment was formally constituted, and provision at once made for the enrolment of twelve companies of one hundred men each. The Viceroy's second son, Lord Richard Butler, who was immediately afterwards created Earl of Arran, was gazetted colonel of the regiment with the captaincy of a company; and eleven other officers were appointed to the remaining companies.[1] The establishment of the regiment was calculated on a generous scale, no less a sum than 24,518*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum being allocated to its maintenance. Its roll included, in addition to the colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major and nine captains of companies, twelve lieutenants, twelve ensigns, forty sergeants, thirty-six corporals, a drum-major with twenty-four drummers, a piper to the King's company, and twelve hundred soldiers. In addition to the fighting strength of the regiment, there were attached a chaplain, an adjutant quartermaster, a surgeon, and a surgeon's mate.[2]

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[1] The earliest reference to the intended regiment I have seen is in Orrery's *State Letters*, and is as follows:—

'As to what your Grace mentions of his Majesty's thoughts of raising a regiment of Guards to lie still at Dublin, I think it not fit on many accounts. Your Grace's words "provided they be raised and supported at least one year out of England" are very wise and necessary; to which I will presume to add, what will there be to maintain them after that year? And therefore I shall lay before your Grace my poor thoughts upon that thing. My Lord of Mountrath had a regiment of horse in this his Majesty's army, which by his death is void. I think, as partial as you can be against your own family, your Grace cannot but acknowledge that it is but mere justice my Lord Ossory being general of the horse should have that regiment. Then the regiment of foot his lordship now has may be the King's Guards in this kingdom; whereby your end will be answered without a penny charge in the raising it, or additional charge in the maintaining it. I hope on this regiment your Grace will pardon me, if I presume to mention Jack Stephens for an employment suitable to his fidelity and merit. I have made inquiry whether the regiment may be clothed here with red cassocks lined with green and with green buttons, and at what rates the provision of cloth and linings of this colour will be had here: Cassocks, breeches, a shirt, and one pair of stockings will cost about 38 shillings.'—Orrery to Ormond, Dec. 28, 1661.

[2] The following is the text of this commission:—

'Whereas we have already constituted and appointed James, Duke of Ormond, to be Governor of our Kingdom of Ireland, and of all our armies there raised and to be raised: And whereas we have thought fit to raise within this our kingdom of Ireland, a regiment of 1,200 foot to be our Regiment of Guards in our said Kingdom of Ireland: We do give and grant to our said Lieutenant and Chief Governor full power, liberty and authority, by beat of drums, proclamations, or otherwise, to raise the said number of men in England, and to conduct, lead and transport them into Ireland, with power and authority to him to give and grant commissions under his hand and seal to such persons as he shall think fit to be officers and commanders of the said regiment.'—*Carte Papers.*

It does not appear from any document from what district the rank and file of the regiment was recruited; but it is evident that at the date of the commission to Ormond considerable progress had been already made in finding the men and arranging for their equipment, and the original list of officers included some who had served in the regiment commanded by Ormond in Flanders. On April 14, 1662, the Vice-Treasurer received orders to pay to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Flower, the sum of 1,897*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, 'towards the raising, sending to the sea-side, and transporting into Ireland of the officers and soldiers of the said regiment.'[3] Two days later a similar sum, 'being one month's pay of the Regiment of Guards for Ireland,' was ordered to be paid to the same officer. On April 21 orders were given for 663*l.* 14*s.* to be paid to John Wall, 'for 600 scarlet coats, bought of him for his Majesty's Regiment of Guards for Ireland, and 755*l.* 12*s.* to be paid to Henry Prescott for 661 red coats, and embroidering twenty-four drummers' coats, with sacks to pack them up in.'[1] This uniform is identical with that prescribed for Colonel Russell's Regiment of Guards in England. A little later Alderman Daniel Bellingham, afterwards the first Lord Mayor of Dublin, received an order to furnish all the non-commissioned officers and men with a red 'cassock,' a term not as yet appropriated by the clergy, together with 'cloth breeches, two shirts, one pair of stockings, and one pair of shoes.' The cassock was lined with green.[2]

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[1] *Ormonde Papers*, i. p. 239.

[2] Sir William Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland.*

[3] *Carte Papers*, clxv. p. 3.

No time was lost in transferring the newly raised regiment to its destination. As early as May, the news-letters of the day chronicled the embarkation of the Guards for Ireland.[3] 'On the 9th instant,' according to the Chester correspondent of 'Mercurius Publicus,' 'Sir William Flower, who had the conduct of his Majesty's Regiment of Guards for Ireland, under the command of the Earl of Arran, arrived here with that regiment, in order to their transportation for Ireland,' and on May 14 it was reported that 'Sir William commenced to ship twelve companies in eleven ships at Neston.' We are further informed that 'during the march from London with this regiment, Sir William himself constantly marched with the men. Sir William Flower, my Lord Callan, and other chief officers in the regiment were entertained by the Mayor at Chester.' They reached Dublin safely before the end of May; and on the 28th of that month, the same journal announced that 'the King's Regiment of Foot, under the command of the Earl of Arran, consisting of twelve companies, that came this week from England, marched this day, completely armed and clothed, through the city, and are all quartered in and about it for the Guards.'

The conception of the regiment being that of a bodyguard for the person of the Lord-Lieutenant as the representative of the King, it was not contemplated that the corps should serve, in time of peace at least, outside the capital. Accordingly arrangements were at once made for quartering the soldiers in Dublin, and for this purpose communications passed between the Government and the City Corporation. Between the Court and the City the liveliest accord existed throughout Ormond's Viceroyalty, the Duke having, as one of his first acts, secured a payment of 500*l.* a year from the exchequer to the Mayor, in consideration of the loyalty of the city in the years following the Rebellion of 1641, and of the civic poverty resulting from the civil wars, and having exerted himself to the utmost at the Restoration for the protection and enlargement of the liberties of Dublin. And it was to Ormond's intervention that the dignity of Lord Mayor, shortly afterwards conferred on the head of the Corporation, as well as the royal gift of a collar of SS. and cap of maintenance, and other marks of royal favour, were directly due.[1]

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[1] See Sir F. Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards.*

[2] Orrery's *State Letters*, p. 58, and see the letter of Orrery already given.

[3] *Mercurius Publicus*, May 9 and 28, 1662. See also M'Kinnon's *History of the Coldstream Guards*, i. p. 109, note.

The City Assembly was therefore prepared to comply with a loyal alacrity with the direction of the Viceroy to provide quarters for the Guards. On May 28 the Lords Justices and the Council, by direction from the Lord-Lieutenant, ordered the sheriffs of Dublin and seneschals of the Liberties 'to provide lodging for the officers and soldiers of his Majesty's Regiment of Guards lately arrived out of England, in inns, wine-taverns, ale-houses, or victualling houses.'[2] The officers were likewise quartered on the city. On June 14 Ormond wrote to the Mayor and sheriffs requiring them 'forthwith to appoint convenient quarters as near the Castle of Dublin as may be for our son Richard, Earl of Arran, Colonel of his Majesty's Regiment of Guards, and his servants';[3] and shortly afterwards provision was made by the city, pursuant to his Excellency's warrant, for the quartering of the commissioned officers of the King's Regiment in the city and suburbs. Thenceforward and down to the Revolution, Dublin appears to have continuously remained the headquarters of the Guards; and although the arrangements for their lodging appear to have involved some burthen on the city, the best relations seem, in general, to have been maintained between the citizens and the soldiery. The troops seem to have been quartered partly in the Castle, partly through the city, especially at the city gate-houses, which, at that time, were still utilised for residential purposes. This appears from the complaint of one John Eastwood, who had contracted to pay 4*l.* per annum to the city for St. Nicholas Gate, but represented that 'the said gate was taken up from him by the soldiers, by special orders from the Lord-Lieutenant, to his very great damage.'[1] The provision of fire and candlelight for the Guards was also constituted a charge upon the city, and assessments were annually made for this purpose on a warrant from the Viceroy, this being, in the language of a resolution of 1665, 'required to be done by act of State and a business of public concernment to this city.'[2] The amount of the assessment for this purpose was usually from 150*l.* to 200*l.* a year. The tax appears to have, in general, been readily contributed, though in June 1667 one John Quelch, a freeman of the city and member of the Corporation, refused 'in violation of his oath as freeman to pay his portion of the charge amounting to half-a-crown' on the ground that such a levy was unlawful and unwarrantable.[3]

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[1] Speech of Sir W. Davys, the Recorder, *Calendar of Dublin Records*, iv. p. 679, and see vol. i. p. 42.

[2] *Carte Papers*, Bodleian Library, xxxvii. p. 228.

[3] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, iv. p. 273.

In addition to the occasional restiveness excited by the tax for their maintenance, the Guards appear to have provoked some unpopularity by their demeanour towards the citizens. In August 1667 a petition was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant by the City Council 'for a redress against the several oppressions of the officers and soldiers on the inhabitants of the city under the pretence of quartering.' This, however, was resented by the Colonel, Lord Arran, and the officers of the regiment, who, in a counter-petition, demanded an inquiry into the matters complained of, averring their indignation at aspersions which they stigmatised as 'a high reflection on the officers and soldiers of the said Guards either in committing or suffering such oppressions to be committed by those under their command.'[1] But in general the relations between soldiery and civilians were harmonious, and Dublin was proud of the regiment. In 1666[2] 'his Grace the Duke of Ormond, taking notice of the many buildings lately made on Oxmantown Green, which have taken up so much room there that his Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards and the City Militia have not conveniency to exercise as formerly,' and 'recommending the city to take present orders that the grounds upon St. Stephen's Green, lately walled in, be forthwith made fit for that purpose,' the City Assembly cheerfully ordered that the ground should be levelled and made smooth with that object. This was accordingly done, and thenceforth St. Stephen's Green became the parade-ground of the Guards. A review of the regiment on this ground twenty years later is described in Clarendon's 'State Letters.'[3]

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[1] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, iv. p. 299.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 347.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 435.

A further memorial of the connection of the Irish Guards with Dublin is supplied in the records of two Dublin parishes. The regiment appears to have attended Divine Service regularly every Friday, sometimes in St. Michael's and sometimes in St. Audoen's, and in 1671 Lord Arran contributed a sum of 150*l*. towards the re-building of the latter church. In requital of his liberality it was ordered 'that the arms and supporters of the said Earl of Arran be fairly presented and erected in the said church';[4] and further, that every commissioned officer of the Royal regiment, from the said Earl to the ensign, should henceforth enjoy all privileges and indemnities of parishioners in regard to marriages, christenings, and burials. The parish of St. Michael was less fortunate when two years later it solicited a like contribution, notwithstanding that it was averred that 'for several years past the several companies of the Royal regiment quartered in this city have made use of the Church of

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[1] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, iv. p. 423.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 383.

[3] Clarendon's *State Letters*, i. p. 434.

[4] Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, i. p. 281.

St. Michael, but in all that time nothing hath been contributed towards the reparation of the said church or the seats thereof.'

Mention has just been made of the City Militia, and some confusion might easily occur between the two bodies, which in the Assembly rolls are sometimes referred to indifferently as the Guards of the city. The two forces were, however, entirely distinct, and had no relation to each other, save in so far as each was in its degree responsible for the defence of the city. A militia, 24,000 strong, was raised to supplement the regular army; and in 1660 two foot regiments of city militia had been formed, one for service within, the other without the city; the Mayor for the time being acting as Commander-in-Chief. The Mayor was likewise designated commander of a foot company through the good offices of Sir Theophilus Jones, the Scoutmaster-General of the army, a distinction which was so much appreciated by the city dignitary that the City Assembly voted a sum of 50*l.* for a piece of plate to be presented to Lady Jones in recognition of her husband's exertions.[1] Some friction seems occasionally to have been provoked between the City Guards and the King's regiment. The author of 'Ireland's Sad Lamentation'[2] imputes to the latter a slackness little creditable to the gallantry of the corps, alleging that the militia would not be suffered to guard within the city, the King's Guard being appointed to defend the same, and were obliged to serve outside the walls, 'so that upon any attempt, our volunteer inhabitants might certainly have perished before the King's soldiery who received pay had entered into any dangerous engagement.' But this innuendo, with the rest of the publication in which it appeared, was declared by the City Assembly to be 'a black and ugly libel.'

Another force not to be confounded with his Majesty's Regiment of Guards was the Lord-Lieutenant's Guard of Halbertiers or Battle-axes, which, during the reign of

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[1] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, iv. p. 221.

[2] 'Ireland's Sad Lamentation,' 1681. *Ibid.* v. Preface.

Charles II., from the opening of Ormond's Viceroyalty[1] in 1661 down to 1665, was maintained as part of the Military Establishment. This body, which was known sometimes as the Company of Battle-axes, sometimes as the Guard of Halbertiers, consisted of a captain, lieutenant, two sergeants, and sixty men, dressed in buff coats, and was modelled on the Yeomen of the Guard.[2] The provision made at the Restoration for such a retinue to attend the Viceroy was in accordance with the ancient traditions of the Viceregal office, for as early as the reign of Henry VIII., when the Earl of Surrey came over as Deputy, one hundred Yeomen of the Guard were sent to Ireland with him to serve as his body-guard.[3] It would appear that, at this time, in their uniform and accoutrements this Guard closely followed its English prototype. On April 2, 1662, Colonel, afterwards Sir Daniel, Treswell, who was appointed to the command of the Battle-axes, received from Ormond a warrant for 275*l.* 4*s.* towards buying '64 buff coats and 64 belts at 4*l.* 6*s.* for each coat and belt for our guard of foot.'[4] The force having been equipped in England came to Ireland in that year, and 'for the more convenient performance of their duty'[5] were ordered to be quartered as near to Dublin Castle as possible. Treswell, their commander, who had come to Ireland in 1641 in command of a troop of horse, had 'faithfully served his Majesty in honourable employment during the whole war in England and Ireland,' in the course of which he had commanded the Lord-Lieutenant's regiment of horse. Ormond, loyal in prosperity to his friends in adversity, not only rewarded his fidelity with the command of his Battle-axes,[1] but procured him, in 1665, the honour of a baronetcy, and recommended him in the same year to the burgesses of Downpatrick, by whom he was returned to Parliament.[2]

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[1] *Ormonde Papers*, i. p. 406.

[2] Sir W. Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*.

[3] Preston's *Yeomen of the Guard*, p. 100. See also Sir John Davies' *Discovery*: 'In the time of Henry VIII. the Earl of Surrey, Lord Admiral, was made Lieutenant; and though he were the greatest captain of the English nation then living, yet brought he with him rather an honourable guard for his person than a competent army to recover Ireland. For he had in his retinue *two* hundred tall yeomen of the King's Guard.'

[4] *Carte Papers.* The uniform must, however, have been materially altered in the course of the next century if a plate in Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* for Nov. 1787 may be depended on. In this drawing the 'Battle-axes' are depicted as guarding the remains of the Viceroy, the Duke of Rutland, at his lying in State in the Irish House of Lords.

[5] Order for quartering the Battle-axes, Dec. 8, 1662, *Ormonde MSS.*; *Calendar of Dublin Records*, iv. p. 545. The guard at this time was sixty strong.

In addition to the City Guard the Lord Mayor, in emulation of the Lord-Lieutenant, seems also to have instituted a small body-guard of halbertiers; but it is not surprising to learn that this force, six in number, was 'not found so useful as it was expected,' or that it was in consequence ordered that as many of them as the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs should think fit to be officers at mace should be so appointed, and discharged from their place of bearing halberts.

That his Majesty's Regiment of Guards was from the first intended to hold the highest place in the regimental roll in Ireland there can be no manner of doubt. When, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Clarendon, at the opening of the reign of James II., several of the officers of the Guards were displaced by Tyrconnel in pursuance of his programme to new-model the Irish army on a Roman Catholic basis, Major Billingsley, one of the displaced officers, in protesting against his removal, averred that 'to be a Major of the Royal Regiment of Guards is better and more honourable than to be Lieutenant-Colonel of any other regiment.' The prestige of the regiment derived *éclat* at the outset from the fact that the commission for the raising of the regiment was given to the Viceroy. The Duke of Ormond was not alone the King's representative and the General-in-Chief of the army in Ireland, but was the first of his Irish subjects in rank, fame, and fortune. He had held the post of Lieutenant-General or Commander-in-Chief of the army formed by Strafford as far back as 1640; and his association with the regiment would have been sufficient of itself to stamp the corps with peculiar distinction. Ormond was careful to secure that its honour should undergo no diminution in the persons of its officers, who were selected largely from the ranks of the Irish nobility, and included several who had followed his fortunes through the whole course of the civil war and foreign exile.

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[1] *Ormonde Papers*, vols. i. and ii.

[2] The following inscription appears upon a tomb in the chancel of the old church at Finglas, near Dublin:—'Heere under lyeth the body of Sir Daniel Treswell knight and baronett who faithfully served his Majesty in honourable employment during the whole war in England and Ireland and dyed the 24th day of May, 1670.'

Unable himself, with the multifarious duties of the Viceroyalty, to assume the direct command, Ormond asserted in the most marked way his personal interest in the fortunes of the regiment by nominating to the colonelcy, as already stated, his second son Richard, Earl of Arran, a nobleman who, if less distinguished than his gallant brother, Lord Ossory, was yet a man of considerable ability, who on more than one occasion during Ormond's absence in England filled the office of Lord Deputy. Arran gave proofs of considerable military capacity in command of his regiment, first in suppressing a formidable mutiny of the soldiers of other regiments at Carrickfergus in 1666, and later, in 1673, by his distinguished conduct under the Duke of York, in the sea-fight with the Dutch in that year, in which, after the manner of those days, the Guards took a part, serving on board ship.[1] For his services on this occasion, Arran was rewarded with an English peerage. 'No man,' says Carte, 'was more active, more eager, and more intrepid in danger.' During his tenure of the office of Deputy in 1684, he exhibited great personal gallantry in dealing with a very serious fire in Dublin Castle, by which a great part of the Castle buildings was destroyed.[2] An address of congratulation was presented on this occasion by the citizens of Dublin, in which Arran's energy is eulogised in glowing terms: 'By your Excellency's presence of mind, care, and conduct, in the midst of the devouring flames which encompassed you, not only the remaining part of the buildings of the Castle, but the great magazine of powder to which the fire had within a few steps approached, was wonderfully preserved, and the ancient records of this Kingdom, then also in the Castle, rescued from those flames.' On Lord Arran's premature death, early in 1686, shortly after his father had been recalled from the Irish Government by James II., the direct association of the Ormond family with the Guards was maintained by the bestowal of the command of the regiment on Lord Ossory, son of the distinguished soldier-statesman of that name, and afterwards second Duke of Ormond: a selection which, as the new Viceroy, Clarendon, reported to Sunderland, gave as lively a satisfaction in Ireland as could be imagined.[1]

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[1] Carte's *Ormonde*, ii. p. 544.

[2] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, v. p. 312, and see p. 24 *supra*.

At the time of his original appointment, Lord Arran was too junior to have acquired the military knowledge necessary to the commander of the regiment in the field; and for the lieutenant-colonelcy Ormond selected, as we have seen, Sir William Flower, an officer who was well qualified by his experience to undertake the effective control of the newly enrolled corps.[2] Flower, whose father had come to Ireland towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and had served in James I.'s time as Governor of Waterford, had been one of Ormond's officers in the troubled years that followed the rebellion. As early as 1641 he had held a captain's commission in Ormond's own regiment of foot, which had its quarters in Christchurch Yard, and had formed part of the garrison of Dublin down to 1648; and he had risen to its command. He had suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Parliamentary party on Ormond's departure from Ireland in 1648. At the Restoration he was at once raised to eminence by his old patron, becoming a member of the Privy Council, with a seat in the Irish Parliament as member for St. Canice, and being appointed one of the trustees for satisfying the arrears of the '49 officers. He received considerable grants of land; and his son extending the family influence by a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of Sir John Temple, the family became important enough to win, in the person of Sir William Flower's grandson, the peerage of Castle Durrow, a rank which, in the generation following, was merged in the still existing dignity of the Viscounty of Ashbrook.[1]

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[1] Clarendon's *State Letters*, i. p. 229.

[2] Archdall's *Lodge's Peerage*, v. p. 283.

The other officers appointed to the command of companies at the institution of the regiment were likewise persons of distinction. The King's company was given to Sir Nicholas Armorer, who had acted as equerry to the King in exile, and was a close friend of the Duke of Ormond, by whose influence he was returned to Parliament as member for the county Wicklow, and appointed Governor of Cork.[2] Sir John Stephens, who, like Sir William Flower, had held a commission in Ormond's old regiment as far back as 1643, and who, after the Restoration, represented Fethard in the Irish Parliament—he had married a sister of Flower's, and held the office of Constable of Dublin Castle—was appointed major; and the other officers included Lord Callan, afterwards the third Earl of Denbigh, Lord John Butler—Ormond's youngest son, and Colonel Francis Willoughby, well known in the ten years' warfare in Ireland, from 1641 to 1651. It is thus evident that the note of pre-eminence and distinction which has ever been associated with the Guards in England was characteristic of the Irish regiment from the date of its institution.

A corps, whose sphere of service was restricted in time of peace to the capital, and which even in war was likely to be actively employed only in circumstances of emergency, was naturally deprived for some years of many opportunities of distinguishing itself, and it is not very easy to trace the record of the regiment in the first few years of its existence. Its earliest active service appears to have been in suppressing the mutiny at Carrickfergus in 1666, already noted,[1] but down to 1673 such mention of it as we find is chiefly in connection with ceremonial display. On the occasion of the Duke of Ormond's State entry into Dublin, in 1665, a pageant of unusual magnificence, the regiment formed the guard of honour from St. James's Gate to the Castle, the King's company being in close attendance on the Viceroy, and following immediately the Guard of Battle-axes. In 1672 they were ordered for service with the fleet on the outbreak of the Dutch War, and two companies, of which Lord Arran's was one, were sent to Chester, and appear to have taken part in the action in Solebay.[2]

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[1] There is some reason to suspect that during the eclipse of the Royalist fortunes Flower, like not a few of Ormond's Irish adherents, was among those who conformed to the government of Commonwealth, and that he held a command in Fleetwood's Regiment. See the Leyburne-Popham Papers, *Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report*, p. 153. The following inscription still remains on a tablet in Finglas Church, co. Dublin:—'Gulielmi Flower, equitis aurati, qui tribunus militum sub Carolo Primo partes Regis et fortunas labantes fide illibata, infracta virtute, ad ultimum propugnavit. Restaurata regia familia Ormonius cœptorum ejus testis, nec immemor illi, si non quod meruit, quod tamen ipse cupivit virtutis præmium Prætorianorum militum pro-præfectus dedit ut fidei etiam spectatissimæ uberior esset honos, eum in sanctioris concilii album ascripsit et copiarum in Ultoniam pridem missarum cum a factione Monumethensi pericula in Scotia gliscerunt, sub Granardiæ comite præfectum fecit. Mortem obiit 10 die Junii A.D. 1681.' See *Journal of R.S.A.I.* 1897, p. 454.

[2] Cholmondeley Papers, *Hist. MSS. Com.* 5th Rep.

The military annals of the Restoration still remain very scrappy and imperfect. Even the achievements of the British Guards have been insufficiently recorded. Little or nothing is known of the career of the Irish Guards from 1675 to 1685, when, as already mentioned, the colonelcy passed to the young Lord Ossory on the death of his uncle Lord Arran, although very full lists of its officers for several years of this obscure decade are still extant. The changes in the regiment within this period do not seem to have been many; the most important being the appointment of Sir Charles Feilding—a member of the ancient family of which the Earl of Denbigh is the head—to be lieutenant-colonel on the death, in 1681, of Sir William Flower. The Guards appear, however, to have been maintained in vigorous efficiency. On April 23, 1685, Major Billingsley reported to his colonel, that he 'drew out the regiment to solemnise the coronation, which was performed after the usual way on State days.'[1] Lord Clarendon, who superseded Ormond in the Irish Government in 1685, reported very favourably of their appearance in a letter to James II. :—'The other day,' he wrote, 'I saw your Majesty's Regiment of Guards drawn out; and though I am no soldier, yet I may assure your Majesty they exercise and perform all their duty as well as your Guards in England can do. If they had the honour to be in your presence you would have no cause to be ashamed of them.'[2]

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[1] '1666, about the beginning of May, the garrison, consisting of about 200 men, mutinied for want of their pay, and, choosing Corporal Dillon for their commander, seized the town and castle. On the 25th of the same month, the Earl of Arran, son to the Duke of Ormond, arrived by sea in the *Dartmouth* frigate, with four companies of Guards, and he assaulting the town by sea, and Sir William Flower by land, the mutineers were forced to retreat into the castle, with the loss of Dillon their commander, and two others. The Earl also lost two soldiers. Next day the Duke of Ormond arrived from Dublin with the Horse Guards, and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. The Corporation (of Carrickfergus) received thanks from the Government for their loyalty on this occasion, and gave a splendid entertainment to the Earl of Arran.'—McSkimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Sir F. Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, i. p. 163.

But the regiment was now about to become involved in those far-reaching changes which shortly after the accession of James II. became so universal in every department of the public service, and were ere long to lead to such startling results. The King resolved on a drastic reform of the *personnel* of the army, and Tyrconnel came to Ireland to superintend and carry out the changes which had been resolved upon. This is not the occasion on which to discuss the policy of James II. in dealing with his Irish forces prior to the events which obliged him to rely upon their services in his unsuccessful effort to retain his Crown. It must suffice here to observe that, under Tyrconnel's direction, a sweeping reform was rapidly and even violently carried out. The process may be traced in the correspondence of Lord Clarendon, who, though unquestionably loyal to his Sovereign, was alarmed at the vehemence of the subordinate who was so shortly to be his successor. Clarendon's letters written during the period of his Viceroyalty shed a flood of clear light on events in Ireland in the years immediately preceding the Revolution. Though of liberal opinions on the Roman Catholic question, he was, despite his close family connection with King James, far from endorsing every item in the policy of his royal master, disliking the rapidity and violence with which changes were introduced into the system of government he was administering, and particularly resenting the interference of Tyrconnel, who, as Lieutenant-General of the army in Ireland, exercised plenary powers independently of the Viceroy. His correspondence relating to Tyrconnel's proceedings contains several references to the Guards.[1] In letter after letter he represented to James and to his ministers his disapproval of proceedings which, apart from their unfortunate effect in alienating a large section of the Irish population, he considered injurious to the efficiency of the army in Ireland, and especially to the Regiment of Guards.

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[1] *Ormonde MSS.*

[2] Clarendon's *State Letters*, i. p. 231.

Pursuant, however, to the commands of the King, who, as he told Clarendon, was 'resolved to employ his subjects of the Roman Catholic religion,' and 'not to keep one man in his service who ever served under the usurpers,'[2] Tyrconnel proceeded to put out of the regiment such of the officers as were unlikely to lend themselves to the new order of things, and at the same time to make large changes in the *personnel* of the rank and file. The true reasons for these alterations were not of course publicly avowed, the ostensible ground being that, in the language of Tyrconnel, 'the Scotch battalion, which is newly come into England, has undone us; the King is so pleased with it that he will have all his forces in the same posture. We have here a great many old men, and of different statures:[3] they must be all turned out, for the King would have all his men young and of one size.' This, however, was only a pretext, for, according to Clarendon, the new men were 'full as little' as those who were turned out.

On June 8 the Guards were reviewed in St. Stephen's Green by Tyrconnel, who owned to Clarendon that 'it was a much better regiment than he could have imagined, and that the men did their exercises as well as any regiment in England';[4] but this did not prevent Tyrconnel from proceeding with his reforms. The new officers were commissioned and presented to the regiment on parade. Sir Charles Feilding, who had served with the regiment from its formation, and risen from ensign to be lieutenant-colonel, was superseded in his command—the King, as Tyrconnel put it, 'being so well satisfied in the long services of Sir Charles Feilding that he had removed him to prefer him to a better post.'[1] Sir William Dorrington, a native of England and the youngest major in the army, whose subsequent career evinced considerable military ability, but who was a complete stranger to his new command, was appointed in his place.[2] Other old officers of long standing in the regiment, such as Major Billingsley and Captain Margetson,[3] a son of the Irish Primate, were likewise superseded. The changes among the officers were followed by the dismissal of five hundred men, two-thirds of whom, according to Clarendon, were 'able and lusty men,' and a credit to the regiment. The hardship of their dismissal was aggravated by the fact that they had just bought fresh uniforms by direction of their colonel, and were not reimbursed for their expenditure. To fill the places of these men, Dorrington was ordered to recruit in such counties as he thought fit; and accordingly despatched Arthur, one of his captains, to Connaught to raise men for the Guards—a proceeding much resented by Clarendon, who forbade Dorrington to proceed in it.[4]

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[1] Clarendon's *State Letters*, i. p. 433, *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* i. p. 431.

[3] *Ibid.* i. p. 468.

[4] *Ibid.* i. p. 440.

So violent an exercise of authority inevitably excited alarm. 'All men,' wrote Clarendon, 'who have any consideration and care of the King's service are extremely troubled at the method which is taken of doing things. To turn out, in one day, 400 men of the Regiment of Guards, 300 of whom have no visible fault, and many of them cheerfully went the last year first into the North and afterwards into England, does put apprehensions into men's heads which they would otherwise have no cause for, and putting in none but natives in their rooms, who really to the eye, as to stature and ability, make worse figures than those that are put out, confirms their jealous apprehensions.'[1] But though the composition of the corps was largely altered, and the principal positions confided to officers of Tyrconnel's way of thinking, there does not appear to have been any general surrender of commissions by the old officers who escaped immediate dismissal. These appear to have remained in the regiment down to the arrival of William III. in England.

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[1] Clarendon's *State Letters*, i. p. 434.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. p. 45. There is no sufficient authority for D'Alton's statement, followed by O'Callaghan, that Dorrington was connected with the regiment from its formation. His name does not appear in any of the early lists of officers, which are printed in full in the *Ormonde Papers*, vols. i. and ii.

[3] *Ibid.* i. p. 435.

[4] *Ibid.* i. p. 578.

From the sweeping changes inaugurated by Tyrconnel it resulted that the regiment took part with James II. in his struggle for the Crown of the Three Kingdoms, though in numbers considerably short of its proper strength. And this notwithstanding that the colonel, Lord Ossory, who, in 1688, succeeded to the dukedom of Ormond, and had been left undisturbed in his nominal command, went over to William III. as soon as he landed at Torbay. The colonelcy was given by James to Dorrington, under whose command the Guards took part in the siege of Derry, and subsequently fought at the Boyne and Aughrim. In the latter battle Dorrington was taken prisoner, and Barker, who had been appointed lieutenant-colonel, was killed; and it does not appear under what officers the last services of the Irish Guards on Irish soil were rendered at the defence of Limerick. After the capitulation of that city the Royal Regiment of Guards was the foremost of those which made choice of the cause of King James and exile. In that dramatic scene, so powerfully painted for us by Macaulay, when the garrison of Limerick was ordered to pass in review before the rival commanders, Ginkell and Sarsfield, and those who wished to remain in the Ireland of King William were directed to file off at a particular spot, all but seven of the Guards, marching fourteen hundred strong, went beyond the fatal point and embraced the alternative of exile. Not all of these, however, adhered to their resolution, and only five hundred appear to have been included in the thousands, who, in the language of the historian, 'departed to learn in

[1] Clarendon's *State Papers*, i. p. 485, July 6.

foreign camps that discipline without which natural courage is of small avail, and to retrieve, on distant fields of battle, the honour which had been lost by a long series of defeats at home.'[1]

Reference has been made above to the fact that the career of the Irish Guards was not closed with the defeat of the cause with which their last years in Ireland were identified. After 1690, indeed, they disappeared from the roll of the regiments in the service of the British Crown, and it is hardly surprising that William III. made no attempt to revive a corps which had fought for his opponent. But though exiled to France for above one hundred years, the identity of the regiment was never completely lost. It still continued to be recruited abroad from the 'wild geese' who flocked in a continuous stream from Ireland to the Continent through the course of the eighteenth century. Under the leadership of Dorrington it served with distinction at Loudon and Charleroy, and though broken up in 1698, after the Peace of Ryswick, when it ceased to retain its old title, it was substantially re-embodied under its old chief, and was known until his death, in 1718, as the Dorrington Regiment.

The regiment continued during this period, by desire of King James II., to retain the uniform and colours it had worn in the British Service.[2] Thenceforward it was dis-

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[1] Macaulay's *History of England*, chap. xvii.

[2] See on this point, *Historique du 87^e^ Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne, 1690–1892*. Par Capitaine Malaguti. Paris, 1892. From this work the following extracts are taken :—

'Il semble que, dès cette époque (1698), les régiments irlandais et suisses étaient distingués par l'habit rouge-garance ; tandis que toute l'infanterie française portait l'habit gris-blanc,' p. 16.

'*Notes sur l'uniforme du Régiment de Dillon de 1690 à 1791.*—Nous n'avons pu trouver aucun renseignement sur l'uniforme de Dillon pendant les quarante premières années de son séjour en France. Le premier ouvrage qui nous ait fourni une donnée précise est la Carte abrégée du militaire de la France (de Leman de la Jaïse) qui, pour les années 1730 et 1733, attribue à Dillon : habit rouge et parements bleus,' p. 75. The 'habit rouge-garance' was worn continuously down to 1791 by all the Irish regiments in the French service. The facings varied in colour, and in the case of the Irish Guards were of St. Patrick's blue. A representation of the uniforms of the French army in 1772 shows the Guards or Roscommon Regiment, as it was then called, to have worn a red coat or tunic with blue facings, buff breeches, white Hessian boots, and a tinguished by the names of its successive colonels, Counts Michael de Roth and Edward de Roth, Robert Dillon, Lord Roscommon, and Count Antoine Walsh de Serrant, all of them representatives of old Irish families, and all of them soldiers of capacity. In the Marlborough wars the regiment served with the army of Flanders, and was present at Malplaquet under Count Michael de Roth; it served with the Duke of Berwick in Spain, and during the colonelcy of his son took part in the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. Finally under Count Walsh de Serrant the regiment maintained its old traditions down to the Revolution, when it merged in the 92nd Regiment of the Army of France. But its officers were still, for the most part, Irishmen, and on the fall of the Bourbons it was natural that the representatives of a traditional loyalty to hereditary right should prefer the Fleur-de-lys to the Tricolour. The successors of those who had refused to concur in the English Revolution were too proud of their consistent loyalty to be content to accept the French one. Almost without exception its officers followed their colonel, Count Walsh, in his refusal to serve under the banner of the Republic, and were among those who, in 1794, accepted with alacrity the invitation conveyed to the colonels of the three surviving regiments of Dillon, Berwick, and Walsh by the Duke of Portland, to take service under the British Crown under the title of the Irish Brigade.[1] It was intended that the regiment should be placed upon the Irish Establishment, and recruited exclusively in Ireland for service abroad; and its officers came over to raise a fresh corps in Ireland. But the times were out of joint for such an enterprise. The emigrant officers found Ireland in a turmoil of agitation, which had much more in common with the France of the Revolution than with that of the *ancien régime*, and their efforts were almost entirely unsuccessful. The Rebellion of 1798, quickly following, put a final end to whatever hopes might have previously been entertained, by

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plumed helmet. The colours of the regiment at this time showed a white cross on a ground of St. Patrick's blue.

[1] See p. 99 *infra*.

filling the English Government with misgivings as to the use to which an Irish Catholic Brigade might possibly be turned in spite of the unquestioned loyalty of its leaders. Recruits being forthcoming in quite insufficient numbers, it was found necessary to amalgamate the regiments forming the brigade, with the result that no place remained for many of the returned officers. Weak and insufficient in numbers, the corps was sent to North America and the West Indies, but it was found impossible to maintain the brigade as an independent organisation, and within a few years it ceased to exist.

This last chapter in the history of the regiment is a sad one. Making every allowance for the exacerbation of feeling at the time, the treatment accorded to the returned officers was little creditable to Irishmen of any shade of opinion; whilst the conduct of the War Office in regard to their pay and allowances was equally deserving of disapproval. Wolfe Tone, in his Journal for 1796, describes how the officers, intending to go to Mass on Christmas Day in full uniform, were obliged to give up the idea for fear of being hustled by the populace of Dublin. On the other hand, the Duke of FitzJames, the descendant of the great soldier Berwick, and the principal personage among those to whom the invitation to join the British army had been addressed, was insulted by some observations from Lord Blaney in the Irish House of Lords, and fought a duel with that nobleman in the Phœnix Park in assertion of the honour of his *confrères*.[1] The unemployed officers were treated with so little consideration by the military authorities that some of them were reduced to a half-starving condition, and had to wait several years for arrears of pay; while the colonels, on the final disbandment of the brigade, were refused the rank as half-pay officers for which they had stipulated when entering the British Service. Thus the closing chapter in a story that had extended over a space of above one hundred and thirty years was one of misfortune, and even humiliation. But none the less the record of the Irish Guards, from their formation in 1662 to the final dispersal of the last remnant of the regiment, is one in every respect creditable to the martial traditions of Ireland. Rooted in the history of its country, whether as Jacobite or Williamite, as loyalist or rebel, as fighting for or against the Crown to which it owed its origin, the career of this distinguished corps was one in which were exhibited at every stage the stainless honour of Irish gentlemen, and the indomitable valour of the Irish race.

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[1] *Annual Register*, 1797.

APPENDIX

Mr. Lecky, in his 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. vii. p. 254, has given some account of that final chapter in the history of the Irish Brigade, to which O'Callaghan in his otherwise exhaustive narrative pays but scant attention. Reference is also made to the episode in Mrs. M. A. O'Connell's 'Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade.' But much the fullest authority for the later history of the Irish Guards is to be found in a volume entitled: 'Une Famille Royaliste, Irlandaise et Française, et Le Prince Charles-Edouard 1689-1799,' privately printed at Nantes in 1901 by the Duc de la Trémoïlle.[1] In this work several documents relating to the regiment under the colonelcy of Antoine Count Walsh de Serrant are reproduced. From it are extracted the documents following, viz.: the letter of the Duke of Portland above referred to, and the Commission of George III. to the Comte de Serrant as a colonel of Infantry in the Irish Brigade[1]:—

Letter of the Duke of Portland to Count Walsh de Serrant.[2]

À Whitehall, ce 30 Sept. 1794.

Monsieur,—Le Roi désirant remplir les intentions de la législature d'Irlande, et de donner à ses sujets catholiques de ce royaume un prompte témoignage de son affection et de sa confiance, s'est déterminé à rétablir le corps connu cy-devant sous le nom de la brigade irlandoise, et comme vous etiez colonel d'un des régiments dont elle étoit composée, Sa Majesté m'a donné

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[1] A translation of this work by Miss A. G. Murray MacGregor has recently been published in Edinburgh. For further information as to Count Walsh de Serrant, and incidentally of his regiment, see the sumptuous work by the same writer, *Souvenirs de la Révolution : Mes Parents*, Deuxième Partie. Paris, 1902.

[2] *Une Famille Royaliste*, Appendix, pp. 93–95.

l'ordre de vous offrir dans ce nouveau corps le même rang de colonel que vous teniez dans l'ancien.

L'intention de Sa Majesté est, que cette brigade soit maintenant composée de quatre régiments, le commandement de trois desquels elle m'a ordonné d'offrir aux colonels (ou à leurs représentans) qui ont commandé les trois corps qui composoient la brigade lorsqu'elle étoit au service de Sa Majesté très chretienne, et celui du quatrième à Monsieur O'Connell, cy-devant officier général au service de France, et certainement bien connu de vous et de tous les gentilshommes irlandois qui ont servi dans ce corps.

Il a aussi plu à Sa Majesté de déterminer que tous les officiers, tant de l'état major que les autres, excepté vous, Monsieur le comte et Monsieur le duc de Fitz James, seront pris d'entre ceux de ses sujets qui sont nés en Irlande, et qui se seront distingués par leurs services dans les mêmes grades dans la brigade, et que si l'on manque d'officiers (comme il y a toute apparence) pour remplir les grades inférieurs, on les choisisse dans les familles des gentilshommes de la même religion, dont la demeure a toujours été en Irlande.

L'intention de Sa Majesté est de plus, que cette brigade soit mise, du moment qu'elle sera complette, sur l'état militaire de ce royaume, ou de celui d'Irlande, en sorte que, dès ce moment-là, les officiers qui y tiendront des places prendront rang avec les autres officiers des armées de Sa Majesté, et en cas que le corps soit reformé, ils auront droit à la dernière paye.

Sa Majesté recevra aussi la recommandation des colonels dans le choix des officiers, et cela surtout, quand ces recommandations seront faites en faveur de ceux qui ont servi cy-devant dans la brigade irlandoise. Mais elle ne permettra pas qu'aucune considération pécunière [*sic*] soit donnée pour obtenir aucun rang dans ce corps ; et en consequence, comme il n'aura été permis à aucun officier, de quelque rang qu'il soit, de rien payer pour sa place, il doit comprendre clairement, que sous aucun prétexte il ne lui sera permis de la vendre.

Sa Majesté m'a commandé aussi de vous informer qu'elle est déterminée à ce que ce corps soit spécialement affecté au service des colonies de Sa Majesté dans les Antilles, ou dans telle autre possession de Sa Majesté, hors de ces deux royaumes de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, qu'il lui plaira de les employer ; et que Sa Majesté s'attendra à ce que tout officier de quelque rang qu'il soit, qui a l'honneur d'avoir un brevet dans ces corps, se tiendra comme indispensablement obligé de venir avec son regiment dans quelque partie du monde que ce soit.

Sans entrer dans de plus grands détails sur ce sujet, j'ajouterai seulement, à l'occasion de votre qualité de colonel proprietaire d'un des régiments de l'ancienne brigade irlandaise, qu'il est très essentiel que je vous rappelle, Monsieur le Comte, que la constitution de ce pays-ci n'admet aucune propriété semblable, attendu, comme vous devez vous le rappeler, que les fonds pour l'établissement militaire ne sont accordés que pour l'année, et que par conséquent il ne peut avoir qu'une existence annuelle.

Cependant, quoique place ne vous soit confiée par la législature que pour un an, on doit en considérer la possession comme vous étant assurée durant votre bonne conduite, terme que je ne puis regarder de moindre durée que celui de votre vie.

Je vous ai maintenant exposé toutes les circonstances qui m'ont paru nécessaires pour vous aider à déterminer si vous devez accepter les offres gracieuses de Sa Majesté ; je n'ai qu'ajouter, que si, après mûre considération, il vous paraît plus convenable de ne pas vous en prévaloir, la bonté naturelle de Sa Majesté la disposera à interpreter les motifs qui vous auront déterminé, de la manière la plus favorable pour vous ; et je puis même vous assurer, que dans le cas même où vous accepteriez la proposition que je suis chargé de vous faire, et que la guerre finie, ou même pendant sa durée, vous avez l'avis de quitter le service de Sa Majesté, et de rentrer à celui de Sa Majesté très Chretienne, que vous trouverez le Roi disposé de même de vous accorder votre congé, et de considérer cette mesure avec sa bonté accoutumée.

Je ne sçaurois douter, que vous n'ayez la bonté d'informer les officiers de la brigade, qui ont eu l'honneur de servir sous vos ordres, des intentions du Roi, à leur égard, selon la forme et les conditions que je vous ai specifiées cy-dessus ; et que vous voudrez bien aussi leur recommander, le plutôt possible, à quelque endroit convenable d'où ils pourront le plus commodément se rendre en Irlande, et se mettre en état de remplir les devoirs qui leur seront consignés de la part du Roi.

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire, que dans le cas où vous vous decideriez à accepter la proposition que Sa Majesté m'a autorisé à vous faire, il n'y aura pas un moment à perdre pour vous rendre ici, afin de régler tout ce qui a rapport à la levée des corps le plus promptement possible.

Il ne me reste qu'à vous prier d'être assuré, que je m'estime très heureux d'avoir été autorisé à vous donner ce témoignage, non équivoque, de la bonne opinion et l'estime de Sa Majesté.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le Comte, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Portland.

Brevet de colonel d'infanterie (dans la brigade irlandaise) pour Antoine Walsh, Comte de Serrant, au nom du Roi Georges III. sous la signature de lord Portland.[1]

Palace de S^{t}. James, 1er Oct. 1794.

George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to our trusty and well beloved Antony, Count Walsh de Serrant, greeting: We reposing especial trust and confidence in your loyalty, courage, and good conduct, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, forming part of the corps known by the name of the Irish Brigade, and likewise to be a Captain of a company in our said regiment. You are therefore to take our said regiment as Colonel, and the said company as Captain into your care and charge, and duly to exercise as well the officers as soldiers thereof in arms, and to use your best endeavours to keep them in good order and discipline; and we do hereby command them to obey you as their Colonel and Captain respectively; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from us, or any other your superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust we hereby repose in you.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the first day of October, 1794 in the thirty-fourth year of our reign,

By his Majesty's command.

PORTLAND.

Anthony Count Walsh de Serrant,
Colonel of a Regiment of Foot.

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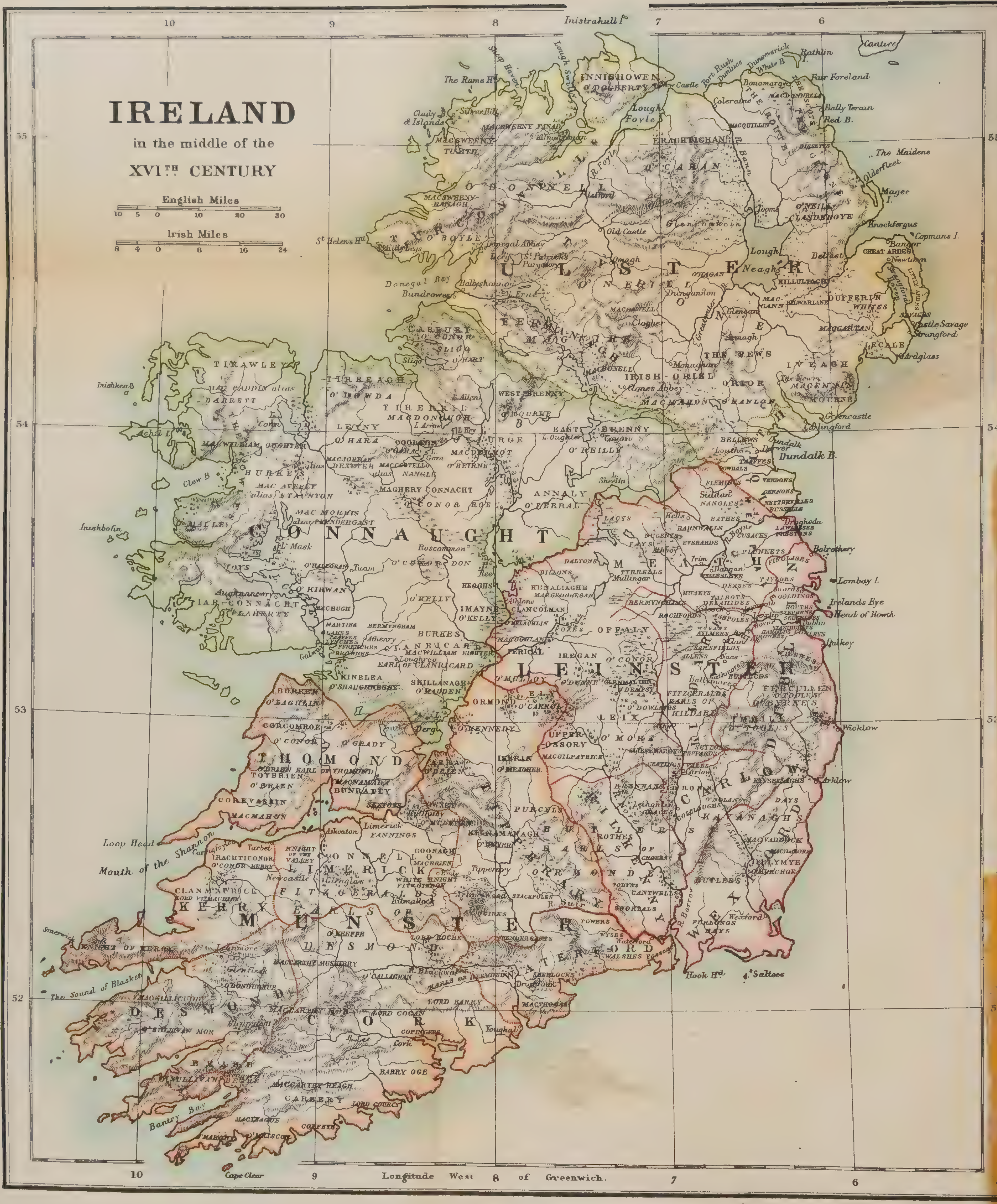
[1] *Une Famille Royaliste*, Appendix, p. 95.



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IV

THE COUNTIES OF IRELAND: THEIR ORIGIN, CONSTITUTION, AND GRADUAL DELIMITATION

THE dominating influence upon the development of any given race or people of the main physical characteristics of the land in which their lot is cast has long been understood by historians; and the effects produced on the history of the world, in modern times by the insular position of Great Britain, or in the world of the ancients by the peninsular position of Greece, are among the commonplaces of historical criticism. What is not so much a commonplace is the extent of the influence exerted upon the domestic history of any community by the accidents of its early local history, and the degree in which archaic conditions of tribal division may survive in the modern organisation. For these divisions often continue for long centuries after their origin has passed into the partial oblivion of unexplained tradition, to mould the shape and form of a more advanced civilisation.

The application of this principle to the case of Ireland is direct and obvious. For the local history of Ireland is, as has been acutely observed, in a special degree the backbone and foundation of its general history.[1] Owing to what may be described as the inorganic character of the social structure in the Ireland of the Middle Ages, to the absence of a strong central government or settled constitution, capable of giving to the country and the people the impress of its own uniformity, it is almost exclusively to clan or sept history, and to the history of the particular areas with which the septs were associated, that we must chiefly look if we would seek to realise the body politic of the Ireland of a not very remote past. If this statement should appear at all exaggerated, let it suffice to note two simple but striking illustrations. As late as the reign of Henry VIII., in a memorandum on the State of Ireland, which is among the most instructive documents in the Tudor State Papers, the names of the 'Irish regions,' and not the territorial divisions to which we are accustomed, are the units employed by the writer to describe by far the greater portion of the country.[1] And in the Elizabethan Map of Ireland, drawn by Dean Nowel, in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, division by territories or 'chieferies,' and not that by counties, is the method adopted.[2] For down to the reign of Philip and Mary, as Sir John Davies observes in the lucid paragraphs devoted to the history of the shiring of Ireland in his well-known work :—'The provinces of Connaught and Ulster, and a good part of Leinster, were not reduced to shire ground. And though Munster were anciently divided into counties, the people were so degenerate as no justice durst execute his commission among them.'[3] To indicate the process by which these large districts were gradually brought within the ambit of English administration, and by which the counties of

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[1] See on this point the valuable essay by Mr. Robert Dunlop on 'Some Aspects of Henry VIII.'s Irish Policy,' published in *Owens College Historical Essays*, p. 279.

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[1] 'Who list make surmise to the King for the reformation of his land of Ireland, it is necessary to show him the estate of all the noble folk of the same, as well of the King's subjects and English rebels, as of the Irish enemies. And first of all to make his Grace understand that there may be more than 60 countries, called regions in Ireland, inhabited with the King's Irish enemies; some regions as big as a shire, some more, some less, unto a little; some as big as half a shire and some a little less; where reigneth more than 60 chief captains . . . that liveth only by the sword and obeyeth to no other temporal persons, but only to himself that is strong . . . also there is no folk daily subject to the King's laws but half the county of Uriel, half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, and half the county of Kildare.'—'The State of Ireland and Plan for its Reformation.' *State Papers of Henry VIII.* ii. part iii. p. 1 (1834).

[2] Copy of an ancient map in the British Museum by Laurence Nowel, Dean of Lichfield, ob. 1576. Printed by the Ordnance Survey Department.

[3] *Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued, &c.*

Ireland, as we now know them, came to be formed, is no easy task; but the attempt is worth making.

'The civil distribution of Ireland,' to quote Bishop Reeves's most valuable paper on 'The Townland Distribution of Ireland,' 'in the descending scale, is into Provinces, Counties, Baronies, Parishes, and Townlands.'[1] But this highly convenient division of the surface of Ireland, as the bishop goes on to say, is characterised neither by unity of design nor by chronological order in its development. 'The provinces, subject to one suppression and some interchange of adjacent territories, represent a very ancient native partition which in the twelfth century was adopted for ecclesiastical purposes. The counties and baronies, though principally based on groupings of native lordships, are of Anglo-Norman origin, and range, in the date of their creation, from the reign of King John to that of James I. The parochial division is entirely borrowed from the Church, under which it was matured probably about the middle of the twelfth century; while the townlands, the *infima* species, may reasonably be considered, at least in part, the earliest allotment in the scale.'

With the two last of these grades of classification we have nothing to do here. But a word must be said regarding the third. The baronial division does not indeed present any very difficult problem. For though it be not easy to account for the adoption of the term 'barony' as signifying the division of a county,[2] seeing that it has no such meaning in the territorial classification of Great Britain, there is no doubt that in general the baronies were successively formed on the submission of the Irish chiefs, the lands of each chieftain constituting a barony, and that they thus represent more nearly than any other unit the ancient tribal territories.[1]

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[1] *Proceedings o the Royal Irish Academy*, vii. p. 473.

[2] 'The cause of the difference in name between the Irish baronies and English hundreds has been thus accounted for: When the kingdom of Meath was granted to the elder De Lacy, shortly after the arrival of the English, he portioned it out among his inferior barons, to hold under him by feudal service, and hence their estates naturally took the name of baronies, which gradually extended itself to similar subdivisions of other counties.' Hardiman's 'Notes to the Statute of Kilkenny,' in *Tracts relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 108.

The limits of the five kingdoms of what has been called the Irish Pentarchy, into which Ireland was anciently divided, correspond closely to those of the provincial divisions, as the latter were maintained down to the seventeenth century. They represent, as already noted, 'a very ancient native partition,' the adoption of which in the twelfth century, for ecclesiastical purposes, served to embalm a division of the island which, being purely artificial and based on no great physical boundaries, must otherwise have perished. The five provinces are shown separately as late as 1610 in Speed's map. For it was not until late in the reign of James I. that Meath ceased to be generally reckoned a separate province. In popular usage it long retained its provincial identity; and Boate, writing under the Commonwealth, mentions the province as but lately merged in Leinster. The Ulster of unsubdued Ireland was conterminous with the modern province of that name, save that it included Louth—a fact commemorated in the still existing incorporation of that county in the see of Armagh and the northern ecclesiastical province—and that it did not include Cavan. Ancient Munster differed from the modern only by including within its bounds the territory of Ely (the O'Carroll country), which, represented by two baronies of the King's County, now forms a part of Leinster. Connaught included, in addition to its present territories, the county of Cavan, and a part of Longford; while during the sixteenth century the earldom of Thomond or county of Clare oscillated, at the pleasure of successive deputies, between Munster and Connaught, giving to the latter, in the periods of its association with it, a predominance which the western province has long ceased to enjoy. Meath is substantially identical with the modern counties of Meath and Westmeath, and is practically conterminous with the diocese of Meath, though it seems to have also embraced a considerable portion of Longford; while Leinster comprised the modern Leinster counties, less Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Longford, and the part of the King's County specified above.

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[1] The origin of the parochial system is much less easily traced; and the relation between the diocesan areas and the provincial and county divisions is a subject which might well engage the attention of some of our ecclesiastical antiquaries.

The first attempt at a division of Ireland into counties was, of course, subsequent to the Anglo-Norman conquest, and is commonly dated from the reign of King John. It is generally ascribed to the tenth year of that monarch's reign; but it does not appear that this ascription, though doubtless substantially correct, rests upon any extant documentary authority of ancient date. It has been adopted, however, by every writer. Sir John Davies's account is as succinct and accurate as any other: 'True it is that King John made twelve shires in Leinster and Munster—namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Urial or Louth, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. Yet these counties did stretch no further than the lands of the English colonies did extend.' Harris, in his additions to Ware's account of the division of Ireland,[1] asserts and, indeed, elaborately argues, that the twelve counties attributed to King John were really of earlier origin, and were, in fact, part of an earlier division effected by Henry II. Without a division into shires and the appointment of sheriffs, Henry's grant to Ireland of the laws of England would, in his opinion, have been no better than a mockery: 'For without sheriffs, law would be a dead letter;' and without a shire there could be no sheriff. That there were sheriffs in Henry's reign Harris considers proved by the language of a patent to one Nicholas de Benchi, directed to all archbishops, bishops, *sheriffs*, &c.; and that shires were known in Ireland prior to the tenth year of King John is shown by a patent of the seventh of that reign, in which the county of Waterford is distinguished from the city of that name. In further support of his thesis, Harris also argues that the division of Connaught into the two counties of Connaught and Roscommon is of earlier date than King John's counties; that, prior to the reign of Philip and Mary, Leix and Offaly were reckoned in Kildare, and other portions of the Queen's County in Carlow; and that there were unquestionably sheriffs of Down and Newtownards, of Carrickfergus and Antrim, and of Coleraine, long prior to the division of Ulster into counties under Elizabeth. But though he would be a bold antiquary who would venture to controvert a proposition maintained by the erudition of Ware, the authority of Ware's laborious editor is hardly so formidable. It may at least be said that if the shiring of Ireland was really accomplished by Henry II., all substantial traces of that sovereign's work have perished; and the historian must be content to start with King John.

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[1] *Antiquities of Ireland*, chap. v.

As has just been noted, there is no conclusive evidence now extant of the formation by King John of the twelve counties traditionally ascribed to him. And it is certain that though these divisions were probably known as separate geographical areas, they cannot in several instances, if in any, have formed counties in the modern administrative sense till a date considerably later than King John's reign.[1] For it must be remembered that the earliest grants of territory by Henry II. were in the nature of counties palatine rather than of ordinary counties, though the term 'palatine' nowhere occurs in any early instrument. And of the twelve counties imputed to King John, five formed part of the single liberty or palatine county of Leinster. In order to follow the process of the development of the Irish counties, it is essential to have regard to this fact and to the consequences flowing from it. It is therefore necessary to digress here to give a brief account of the origin of the institution of counties, and of the difference, in the extent and nature of their respective jurisdictions, between simple and palatine counties.

The name and office of Count were derived from the Court of Charlemagne, and the institution of counties in

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[1] See Hardiman's 'Notes to the Statute of Kilkenny' in *Tracts relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 102.

England is of earlier date than the Norman Conquest.[1] The creation of a count involved from the first a delegation of royal authority for legal and administrative purposes, and the ordinary county had two courts—the King's Court for criminal business, and the Earl's Court for civil causes. But the judicial officers and sheriffs were in all cases appointed by the Crown. Between a county palatine and an ordinary county the distinction was broad and well defined. According to Blackstone, 'counties palatine'—of which there were in England the three great examples of Chester, Durham, and Lancaster, besides the smaller ones of Hexham and Pembroke—'are so called *a palatio*, because the owners of them had formerly in those counties *jura regalia* as fully as the King in his palace.'[2] The Earl of a county was Lord of all the land in his shire that was not Church land; and his jurisdiction was equivalent in all essential points to the jurisdiction of the King in an ordinary county.[3] The *jura regalia* included a royal jurisdiction and a royal seignory. By virtue of the first the Earl Palatine had the same high courts and officers of justice as the King; by virtue of the second he had the same royal services and escheats, and could even create barons, as was certainly done in Chester. Included in the power to appoint officers of justice was the appointment of the sheriff; and with the functions of the sheriff in the palatinate no King's sheriff might interfere. And, therefore, says Sir John Davies, 'such county is merely [absolutely] disjoined and separated from the Crown, so that no King's writ runs there, except a writ of error, which being the last resort and appeal is excepted out of all their charters.'[4]

The origin of these immense delegations of royal power was of course the inability of the Sovereign in early times to establish an efficient administrative system throughout his realm; and the same considerations which compelled resort to the palatine system in England by the early

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[1] Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 694.

[2] Stephen's *Blackstone*, i. p. 131.

[3] Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, i. p. 363.

[4] Sir J. Davies's 'Reports des cases et matters en Ley,' *Le Case del Countie Palatine de Weixford*, p. 62.

Norman kings, rendered necessary the application of an analogous method of administration in Ireland by Henry II. In the case of England, where the central authority was strong, the palatinates were limited to the march or border districts, as Chester on the Welsh, and Durham on the Scottish or Northumbrian borders. In the case of Ireland, the Crown having practically no authority in the interior of the island, the policy of Henry II. was to hand over the country to Strongbow and his followers, with powers practically co-extensive with the powers of the Crown, but subject to and excepting any grants of Church lands. Only the sea-coast towns and the territories immediately adjacent were reserved to the Sovereign. And it was in these latter districts only that for a long period the authority of the English kings had any direct force in Ireland.

Accordingly, as Sir John Davies, with his usual insight, observes, all Ireland was 'cantonised' by Henry II. among persons of the English nation, who, 'though they had not gained the possession of one-third part of the whole kingdom, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be granted to the natives.' Of these grants at least three—those of Leinster to Strongbow, of Meath to De Lacy, and of Ulster to De Courcy—were grants of royal jurisdiction equivalent to palatinates; and most probably all were intended to be such. It is clear at all events that the liberty of Leinster was confirmed by King John in right of Strongbow's daughter to William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and that, on the division of Leinster among the five co-heiresses of the latter, the five divisions of Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Kildare, and Leix were regarded as separately enjoying, within their respective territories, the same palatine privileges which had appertained to the undivided liberty of Leinster. That Leinster was long considered as preserving its palatine privileges may be seen by the statute 25 Edward I., in which 'the whole community of Leinster' is referred to as 'lately but one liberty.'

Of the remaining palatinates or liberties, Meath was divided between Matilda and Margaret, granddaughters of that Hugo de Lacy to whom its territories had originally been granted. Of these ladies Matilda married Geoffrey de Geneville or Joinville, a brother of the famous crusader and author of the 'Vie de St. Louis,' while Margaret married John de Verdon. The moiety known as the liberty of Trim passed to the Crown through the marriage of a descendant of Matilda de Lacy with Mortimer, Earl of March; while the second half, descending to the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury, was resumed by Henry VIII. under the Statute of Absentees.[1] Ulster, originally granted to De Courcy, was re-granted by John to the De Lacys, and descending through a daughter to the De Burghs, and thence to the Mortimers, ultimately became vested in the Crown in the person of Edward IV., as the descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Connaught, granted to the De Burghs, also passed technically with Ulster to the Crown; though the rebellion of the younger branch of the Burkes, on the failure of heirs male of the elder, deprived the legal title of the Crown of all its effective force. The union of all these territories in the Crown of England is incidentally recognised in an Act of Parliament of Henry VII.'s reign,[2] which, reciting that 'the Earldoms of March, Ulster, the Lordships of Trim and Connaught, bin annexed to our sovereign lord the King's most noble Crown,' makes provision for the better keeping of the records of those ancient dignities, the title to which had been jeopardised by the loss of the muniments. This Act expressly refers to 'Richard, late Duke of York,' as lord of Trim.[3]

The extent and character of the privileges of a county palatine or liberty of England appear by the Charter of Edward III. to John of Gaunt for the palatinate of Lancaster—a dignity which, owing to the prudent sagacity of Henry IV., has been preserved in its ancient independence and prerogatives almost down to the present day. Anxious that the hereditary honours of his dukedom should be secured to him, even should fortune deprive him of a usurped crown, Henry, on attaining to the throne, had an Act passed providing that the duchy of Lancaster should remain in himself and his heirs in like manner as though he had never acceded to the royal dignity. But the precise character of the jurisdiction conferred by King John on the early palatine counties of Ireland does not appear from any extant documents. If, however, as it seems reasonable to suppose, the later jurisdictions conferred by Edward III. were similar in their general scope, its nature may be gathered from the records of the palatinate of Tipperary. The process of *Quo Warranto* by which James I. resumed possession of Tipperary enumerates the courts and offices which existed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which, doubtless, represented in all essentials the palatine constitution of earlier times. The jurisdiction, authorities, and liberties set out in the *Quo Warranto* of James I. were restored on the reconstitution of the palatinate in 1662 in favour of James, first Duke of Ormond, with the exception (which appears to have been a reservation common to all palatine grants) of the four pleas of arson, rape, forestalling, and treasure trove, as originally reserved in the grant of Edward III[1] in 1328 to James le Botiller, first earl of Ormond.

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[1] Stat. 28 Henry VIII. cap. iii.

[2] *An Act touching the keeping of Records of the Earldomes of Marche, Connaught, Trym, and Ulster*, 15 Henry VII. c. 15.

[3] Selden, in his *Titles of Honour* (third edition, p. 694), has a reference to the use of the name and office of Palatine Earl in Ireland, which seems to state the facts with the nearest possible approach to accuracy:—'The title of local Earl Palatine, as well as of other Earls, occurs in the Records of that Kingdom. But I do not believe that any man was ever created into the title of Count Palatine there, or the County expressly made a County Palatine by Patent; but as in other countries, so here, the enjoying of the title of earl (and sometimes of lord), together with a territory annexed to that title, wherein all royal jurisdiction might be exercised, was the original whence in speech and writing the title of Earl Palatine or Count Palatine grew.' This was written in 1614;

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and it is noteworthy that Selden's view as to the title of palatine is confirmed by the Patent of Charles II. to the Duke of Ormond in 1660 for the county Tipperary. Tipperary was an undoubted palatinate; yet neither the Patent nor the Act of 2 George I. cap. 8, by which it was revoked, contains the term 'Palatine'; but speak only of the *regalities and liberties* of Tipperary.

[1] The following are among the more important of the privileges vested in the Earls of Ormond within their palatinate :—

1. To have and to hold within the county of Tipperary one *Curia Cancellariæ*, commonly called a Chancery Court, and to make, appoint, and constitute one *Cancellarius*, or officer of the same Court, commonly called a Chancellor, which Chancellor, under colour of such his office, makes and causes to be made all

In tracing the position of the Irish counties through the obscure complexity of Irish administration under the Plantagenet kings, the only guide whom we may follow with any degree of confidence is the Sheriff. The whole machinery of local or county administration in Plantagenet times practically centred in the sheriff, who united the threefold functions of a civil officer in relation to the courts of law; of returning officer in relation to the election of parliamentary representatives; and of revenue collector in relation to the royal exchequer. Owing to the destruction in the reigns of the first two Edwards of most of the early records of the kingdom of Ireland, the materials available in regard to Plantagenet sheriffs are unhappily meagre; and the Act of Henry VII. already referred to indicates the paucity of the

kinds of original writs and other processes in all actions, as well real as personal and mixed, within the aforesaid county arising, occurring, or happening. . . .

2. And also to have and to hold within the aforesaid county one other Court of Pleas of the Crown of the said Lord the now King, and to make, appoint, and constitute one other officer or Seneschallus, commonly called a Seneschal, and one other officer or Justiciarius, commonly called a Justice, to hold Pleas of the Crown of the said Lord the King. . . .

3. And also to have and to hold within the aforesaid county one other Court of Common Pleas held before the aforesaid Seneschal and Justice. . . .

4. And also yearly to nominate, appoint, make, and constitute in the same county one other officer, viz., one *Vicecomes*, commonly called a Sheriff, for the custody of the same county, which sheriff makes execution of all writs, &c. issuing and directed to the same sheriff from the four courts of the said Lord the King held at the King's Courts in the county of the City of Dublin also from the Justices assigned . . . to take the assizes in the county of Tipperary aforesaid, as well as from the aforesaid Chancellor, Justice, and Seneschal in the same county. . . . And he holds in the same county divers Courts of *Turn Leet*, and *Curiæ Comitatus*, called County Courts. . . .

5. And moreover to have and appropriate to themselves the power of granting charters of Pardon, and *ad pardonandum—Anglicè*, to pardon—whatsoever persons are suspected, accused, convicted, outlawed, condemned, or attainted of any transgressions, felonies and treasons, and misprisions of felonies or treasons by them within the aforesaid county in any wise done, committed, or perpetrated. . . . And further to do and execute within the aforesaid county all other things whatsoever which appertain to any Earl of any County Palatine to be done or executed.

6. And also to make, appoint, and constitute in the aforesaid county Tipperary divers other officers, viz., one or more Coroners, and one Escheator and one Feodary . . . and one Clerk of the Markets, . . . and one Sub-vicecomes, commonly called a Sub-sheriff. . . .—*Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records of Ireland*, pp. 34–36.

records of several of the greater earldoms. But a study of the Plea Rolls, Pipe Rolls, and Patent Rolls, as well as of the Plantagenet Statutes, so far as these survive, is not wholly fruitless; and the last-mentioned source is fairly rich in references to the functions and office of the sheriff. An examination of these sources establishes, at least negatively, the fact that from the time of King John to that of the Tudors no new county was formed, or if formed that it did not survive. It also shows that no sheriff was created for any new district, with the single exception caused by the subdivision of the great territory of Connaught into the separate districts of Connaught and Roscommon.[1] It is impossible to say how much or how little of Connaught was intended to be included in Roscommon, or precisely when the division was made. But the separation is certainly as old as the thirteenth century, and Roscommon is among the counties and liberties whose respective sheriffs and seneschals were directed by the Statute 25 Ed. I. (1296) to return to the 'general parliament' held in Dublin in that year 'two of the most honest and discreet knights of each county or liberty.'[2] This vagueness of the territorial divisions and of the shrievalties associated with them was not confined to the western province, but was characteristic of all the so-called counties of King John. And this was especially so in the case of the Leinster counties, whose south-western borders were probably in a state of continuous flux. Thus in 1297 a list of coroners of Kildare shows that county to have included Offaly, Leix, and Arklow, and therefore to have extended far over its present borders into the modern counties of King's County, Queen's County, and Wicklow.

The broad distinction which was drawn between counties ordinary and counties palatine was reflected in the designation of the most important office in their respective jurisdictions. In the county proper that officer is invariably styled sheriff; but in the county palatine he is uniformly referred to as 'the seneschal of the liberty.' The distinction is clearly marked in a mandate of Edward III. to the Treasury of Ireland, which directs that 'because the liberty of Carlow has been taken into the King's hands'[1] the writs of the King for execution should be directed to the sheriff of Carlow, in place of the late seneschal of that liberty.[2] It appears, however, that a general jurisdiction lay in the sheriff of Dublin for districts not clearly belonging to a specific county or liberty, or wherever the seneschal of the latter should be found in default, as in the case of Kildare prior to the Statute of 25 Edward I. In 18 Edward II. precepts were issued to the sheriffs of Dublin and Meath to execute writs 'in spite of the liberties of Kildare and Louth'; but this interference with the general principle of palatine independence was doubtless exceptional, and probably due to the disorganisation resulting from the Bruce invasion. For so extensive were the privileges of the liberties that, though the King might and did appoint sheriffs within their limits, the authority of the royal officers extended only to the Church lands, whence they were known as sheriffs of the County of the Cross. Of such counties there must originally have been as many in Ireland as there were counties palatine;[3] but with the gradual absorption of the palatinates in the Crown, either by inheritance, as in the case of Ulster, or by forfeiture, as in that of Wexford, they had all ceased to exist before the reign of Henry VIII., except the county of the Cross of Tipperary, which being within the great Ormond palatinate, created by Edward III., survived till Stuart times.

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[1] See Hardiman's 'Statute of Kilkenny' in *Tracts relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 106.

[2] The following is the enumeration in the Statute:—'Likewise the Sheriffs of Dublin, Louth, Kildare, Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Connaught, and Roscommon; and also the Seneschals of the liberties of Meath, Weysford, Katherlagh, Kilkenny, and Ulster.' See Betham's *History of the Constitution of England and Ireland*, p. 262.

Whatever the precise origin of the counties so generally ascribed to King John, there appears to be no doubt that the writs, either of the King or of his palatines, ran in all of them for a full century from John's time, and that these counties represent the extent of the effective predominance of English power down to the invasion of Edward Bruce in 1315. Prior to that event some efforts seem to have been made to extend the counties to Ulster, and to define more accurately the limits of the Leinster counties. An Act of 25 Edward I. (1296), for the settlement of Ireland, enacted that 'henceforward there shall be a certain sheriff in Ulster, and that the sheriff of Dublin shall not intermeddle henceforth in Ulster.' Meath was declared to be a county by itself; and Kildare, which had been regarded as a liberty of Dublin, was discharged from the jurisdiction of the Dublin sheriff, and given an independent position. But from the wars of the Bruces the English colony received a blow from which it did not recover until the Plantagenets had been replaced by the Tudors. The authority of the State, so far as it was effective in the interior of the island, was only exerted through the medium of the three great earldoms of Ormond, Desmond, and Kildare, all of which dated from the fourteenth century. The area under the direct control of the Crown was narrowed continually, until after a lapse of precisely two centuries more the boundaries of the English Pale had shrunk to its lowest limits, and, in the quaint language of Stanihurst, were 'cramperned and crouched into an odd corner of the country named Fingal, with a parcel of the King's land of Meath and the counties of Kildare and Louth.' Thus from the reign of Edward II. to that of Henry VIII. the extension of the Irish counties was politically impossible.[1]

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[1] This had been done by virtue of Edward III.'s arbitrary but temporary revocation of all franchises, liberties, and grants formerly made in the kingdom of Ireland—a measure doubtless intended primarily as an answer to the renunciation by the Bourkes of Connaught of their allegiance to the Crown, and to the general disorganisation which had followed the wars of the Bruces.

[2] *Cal. Patent and Close Rolls.* No. 2 Close Roll, 17 & 18 Edward III.

[3] In the list of Proffers and Fines of Sheriffs and Seneschals in the time of Edward III., Sheriffs of the Cross are mentioned for the Crosses of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Carlow, Wexford, Kerry, Kildare, Meath, and Ulster.

[1] The Pale at this period is thus described in the State Paper of Henry VIII. already referred to:—

'Also the English Pale doth stretch and extend from the town of Dundalk to the town of Derver, to the town of Ardee, alway on the left side leaving the march on the right side, and so to the town of Sydan, to the town of Kenlys,* to the town of Dangle,† to Kilcock, to the town of Clane, to the town of Naas, to the bridge of Cucullyn,‡ to the town of Ballymore,§ and so backward to the town of Ramore,|| and to the town of Rathcoole, to the town of Tallaght, to the town of Dalkey, leaving alway the march on the right hand from the said Dundalk following the said course to the said town of Dalkey.'—*State Papers of Henry VIII.* ii. part iii. p. 22.

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* Kells. † Dangan. ‡ Kilcullen. § Ballymore-Eustace. || Rathmore.

That the shrinking of the English Pale had been accompanied by a parallel diminution of the interest in and knowlege of the country possessed by the English sovereigns may be sufficiently inferred from the language used in 1537 in a 'Memorial for the Winning of Leinster,' addressed by the Irish to the English Council, which begins by reciting that 'Because the country called Leinster and the situation thereof is unknown to the King and his Council, it is to be understood that Leinster is the fifth part of Ireland.'[1] But from this period, nevertheless, may properly be dated the revival of English authority. In 1541 the resolution of the Sovereign himself to convert his long nominal lordship of Ireland into an effective supremacy was shown by the Act constituting Henry VIII. King of Ireland. This was the prelude to the adoption of that policy of converting the chiefs of the Irish septs into the immediate feudatories of the Crown which led directly to the conversion of the lands without the Pale into districts cognisable by English law, and ultimately to their formation into modern counties. Little, indeed, was done under Henry VIII. towards defining the county boundaries, the only actual change in the map being the severance of Westmeath from Meath by an Act of Henry VIII.[2] But though the proverb quoted by Sir John Davies continued to hold good during the reign of Henry VIII., that 'whoso lives by west of the Barrow, lives west of the law,' the area of the anglicised districts steadily increased. The greater part of Leinster was in this and the succeeding reign gradually won back to what was called 'civility'; till towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the Pale was understood to extend through all Leinster, Meath, and Louth.[3]

The first step in this process of restoration, and the first real addition to the list of Irish counties made since King John's time, was the formation of the King's and

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[1] *State Papers of Henry VIII.* ii. part iii.

[2] 34 Henry VIII. cap. i. *An Act for the division of Methe into two Shires.*

[3] See *A Perambulation of Leinster, Meath, and Louth, of which consist the English Pale* in 1596. *Carew Cal.* iii. p. 188. See Appendix I. to this paper, for particulars of boundaries of counties not printed in the *Carew Calendar.*

Queen's Counties in the time of Philip and Mary. The districts of Leix and Offaly, the territories of the powerful septs of the O'Moores and O'Connors, were in that reign reduced to subjection, during the Viceroyalty of the Earl of Sussex, who, in the words of Sir John Davies, 'took a resolution to reduce all the rest of the Irish counties unreduced into several shires.' Sussex was the first of the Tudor Deputies to acquire a really systematic personal acquaintance with the country he was sent to govern; and the accounts of his journeys through the provinces,[1] between the years 1556 and 1563, together with his reports to Mary and Elizabeth of the results of his observations, are among the most valuable of the Irish State Papers of that age. Sussex proposed to divide Ireland into six parts, viz. Ulster, Connaught, Upper Munster, Nether Munster, Leinster, and Meath; and he enumerates in his report the countries which these divisions respectively comprised. But though he appears to have been the first Viceroy to conceive any large plan for an efficient administrative settlement of Ireland, Sussex was recalled before he had had time to grapple effectively with that problem of the shiring of Ireland which he saw lay at the root of all real administrative reform. But at least he made a beginning. It is worthy of remark, too, that Sussex is the only Deputy who, in addition to creating fresh counties, gave to his creations names not borrowed from the territories by which they were constituted.[2]

In 1556 there was passed the statute[3] 'whereby the King's and Queen's Majesties, and the heirs and successors of the Queen,' were declared entitled to the countries of Leix, Slewmargy, Irry, Glenmaliry, and Offaly, and provision was made for making these countries shire ground. After reciting that these countries had been subdued in the previous reigns, but had rebelled and been again reduced by the Queen's Deputy, Thomas Radcliffe Fitzwalter, Earl of Sussex, the statute proceeds thus:—' And for that neither of the said countries is known to be within the limits of any shires or counties of this realm, be it enacted that the King and Queen, and the heirs and successors of the Queen, shall have, hold, and possess for ever, as in the right of the Crown of England and Ireland, the said countries of Leix, Slewmargy, Irry, Glenmaliry, and Offaly.' A further section provided that 'to the end that the same countries may be from henceforth the better conserved and kept in civil government, the new fort in Leix be from henceforth for ever called and named Maryborough, and the countries of Leix, Slewmargy, Irry, and part of Glenmaliry be one shire and county named the Queen's County'; and, similarly, that the new fort in Offaly should be named Philipstown, and the country of Offaly and part of Glenmaliry be called the King's County.

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[1] See *Carew Cal.* i. pp. 257, 265, 274, 330, 349.

[2] The case of Londonderry is an exception to this statement more apparent than real. In its first form, the county of Londonderry was known as Coleraine, taking its name from the considerable town within its boundaries. The county of Coleraine included, however, only the northern portion of the modern county of Londonderry.

[3] 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, cap. ii.

That the Government of the Earl of Sussex contemplated a further extension of the policy embodied in this Act appears from the statute immediately succeeding it, 'to convert and turn divers and sundry waste grounds into shire ground.'[1] This act provided for the appointment of commissioners 'to view, survey, and make inquiry of all the towns, villages, and waste grounds of the realm now being no shire grounds,' with power to the commissioners to erect such districts into counties. Little was done in this short reign, or for some years afterwards, to give effect to this enactment. But widely as the general policy of Elizabeth differed from that of her predecessor, her attitude towards Ireland was in principle the same as Mary's. A statute passed in 1569 'for turning of countries that be not yet shire grounds into shire grounds,' substantially re-enacted the earlier legislation.[2] And the task of giving effect to these provisions was confided by Elizabeth in a great measure to the same statesmen who had devised them under Mary.

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[1] 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, cap. iii.

[2] 11 Elizabeth, cap. ix. The preamble, which is the same in both statutes, is worth quoting as showing the principle on which this policy of shiring was based:—' Whereas divers and sundry robberies, murders, felonies, and other heinous offences be daily committed and done within the sundry countries, territories, cantreds, towns, and villages of this realm being no shire ground, to the great loss both of the Queen's Majesty and of divers and sundry her Highness

Though the actual delimitation of the counties was not finally settled until, in the reign of James I., it was accomplished by Sir Arthur Chichester with the assistance of Sir John Davies, the business of shiring Ireland, in the sense of formally naming and constituting the county divisions of Connaught, Ulster, and part of Leinster under their modern designations, was practically the work of the last two Tudor Sovereigns. Their policy was carried out by three statesmen of eminence—the Earl of Sussex, Sir Henry Sidney, and Sir John Perrot. And as in the case of the final measures taken in the reign of James I. to perfect the county system we have been provided by the chief agent of the work, Sir John Davies, with a vivid description of the proceedings, so in the case of the earlier and more tentative steps taken under Elizabeth, we have the advantage of an authentic narrative by one of the principal actors. The part played by the Earl of Sussex has just been noticed.[1] Sussex

true subjects of this realm, and to the boldening and encouraging of many offenders.'

[1] The amorphous state of the county system prior to Sidney's time is sufficiently illustrated by the report of Sussex to Elizabeth in 1562.

Report of Earl of Sussex to Elizabeth, Carew Cal. i. 330.

Ulster.—' The county of Lowthe, O'Donell's country, O'Cane's, McGwyre's, McMahon's, Fernes O'Hanlon's, Clandonell's, McGenysse's, Tirone, McWylli's, the Glynnes, Clandeboye, Kylwowltoughe, Arde, McArtan's, Le Cayle, Kywarlyne, the Dufferne.

Connaught.—' The Earl of Clanricarde's country, McWylliam Burke, O'Conor Slego, O'Connor Donne, O'Conor Roe, McDermote, O'Kelly, O'Madden, O'Flarty, the Annaly, O'Mayle, O'Rwrerke.

' O'Raili's country is taken to be within Connaught, but because it lieth fitter for another government, and bordereth upon the English Pale, I leave it out of the government of Connaught.'

Munster.—' The Nether Munster on the south and east side of the River of Shanon is all shire ground, saving O'Caroll's country, which I leave to the government of the Captain of the King and Queen's counties and marches adjoining, for that it bordereth upon them, and upon the north and west side on the Earl of Thomond's country called Thomond, who seeketh to bring his people to live under the obedience of the law.

' In this Munster be the counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford.'

was followed by the gifted and valiant Sir Henry Sidney. Not only has that ablest of Elizabethan Deputies left detailed accounts of his progress through the provinces, but he has given in a memoir of his services in Ireland, drawn up in 1583, a striking statement of the Irish policy of Elizabeth in the first half of her reign, and a full summary of the proceedings taken by him to reduce the back woods of Ireland to shire ground. The circumstances in which this memoir was written add to its intrinsic value the piquancy of an interesting historical association. For the occasion of the narrative was the then approaching marriage of the writer's son, Sir Philip Sidney, the chivalrous author of the 'Arcadia,' to the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, a lady whose fate it was to be successively the wife of Philip Sidney, of Robert Devereux, the unfortunate Earl of Essex, and of the third Earl of Clanricarde. The memoir, which was written primarily as an apology for Sidney's inability to make a sufficient settlement on his son, explains how his expenses as the representative of the Queen in Ireland, and the neglect of the Sovereign to relieve his impoverished fortune, had reduced him to a position of 'biting necessity,' which prevented him from making such provision as he desired for his much-loved son. 'Three times,' wrote Sidney to Walsingham, 'her Majesty hath sent me her Deputy into Ireland, and in every of the three times I sustained a great and violent rebellion, every one of which I subdued, and with honourable peace left the country in quiet. I returned from each of those deputations three thousand pounds worse than I went.'[1]

Leinster and Meath.—'Leinster has within it these countries: the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Catherlawgh, Wexford, and Kilkenny: the Byrnes Irish and within the county of Dublin, the Tooles, Irish and within the county of Dublin; the Kavenawghes, Irish and within the County of Catherlowgh, the lord of Upper Ossory, Irish, but holdeth his land by state tayly; O'Dunne, Irish, O'Mawher, Irish, the Queen's and the King's counties lately conquered.

'Meath has in it these countries: the counties of Meath and Westmeath; O'Mulloy and the Fox, supposed to be in Westmeath; McGohegan, McCowghlan and O'Mullawhlen, supposed to be in Westmeath.'

[1] The accounts of Sidney's provincial journeys have been printed in the *Ulster Archæological Society's Journal* (Original Series), vol. iii. *et seq.*

Sidney's contribution to the formation of the Irish counties consisted in the main in the shiring of Connaught. In 1566, in the first of his three Viceroyalties, he took the first step in this undertaking by providing efficient and permanent means of communication between Dublin and the western province. 'I gave order,' he writes, 'for the making of the bridge of Athlone, which I finished, a piece found serviceable; I am sure durable it is, and I think memorable.' A few years later a bridge over the Suck at Ballinasloe, 'being in the common passage to Galway,' was constructed by Sir Nicholas Malby at Sidney's direction. This was the necessary preliminary to any effective assertion of English law in the remoter parts of the country. It was followed by the division of Connaught into four of the five counties of which it now consists, viz. Sligo, Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon. With these Clare was temporarily associated. In his 'orders to be observed by Sir Nicholas Malby for the better government of the province of Connaught,' issued in 1579, Sidney's reasons for this arrangement are thus given:—'Also, we think it convenient that Connaught be restored to the ancient bounds, and that the Government thereof be under you, especially all the lands of Connaught and Thomond, being within the waters of Shannon, Lough Ree, and Lough Erne.' In the same document suggestions are made for the appointment of 'safe places for the keeping of the Assizes and Cessions.' Sligo, Bures (Burris hoole), Roscommon, and Ballinasloe are respectively designated as suitable county towns.[1]

Leitrim comprising O'Rorke's country was for the present excluded. It was not reduced to a county until Perrot's time in 1583. But the country of the O'Ferralls, called the Annaly, and the territory of the O'Reillys, or East Breny, both of which, as already noted, were then reckoned in Connaught, were formed into the modern counties of Longford and Cavan.[2] East Breny was described at the time by Sir

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[1] See O'Flaherty's *Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, ed. Hardiman, p. 305.

[2] Sussex appears to have designed to add Cavan to Leinster rather than

Nicholas Bagnal as 'a territory where never writ was current,' and which it was almost sacrilege for any Governor of Ireland to look into. The precise allotment of these counties among the provinces seems to have been left open, for Sidney, as will appear in a moment, was solicitous lest Connaught, which he had already extended in another direction, should become disproportionately large.

The district of Thomond had always been reckoned a part of the southern province. Indeed, the name signified North Munster, and its people were a Munster people. But Munster was a troublesome responsibility in Sidney's time; and the Deputy, who was then forming the system of Presidencies by which for the next seventy years the provinces of Munster and Connaught were to be administered, desired to reduce its importance.[1] He therefore ignored this ancient division, and taking the Shannon as a natural boundary (the province, if we exclude Leitrim, being thus, as the author of the 'Description of Ireland in 1598' has it, 'in manner an island'), he added this large territory to Connaught. 'Thomond, a limb of Munster, I annexed to the President of Connaught by the name of the County of Clare,' is Sidney's concise summary of this important transaction.[2] In his instructions to Malby, already cited, the north part of the city of Limerick was suggested as the 'shire town,' 'because a jury may be had there for the orderly trial of all country causes.' But the President was directed to choose some apt place in Thomond; and Quin, Killaloe, and Ennis were suggested as suitable.

We may pause at this point to consider the subsequent administrative history of Thomond. It continued to be included under its new designation of Clare in the government of Connaught almost to the end of Elizabeth's reign. It was then erected into an entirely distinct division, and governed as a separate entity under a separate commission,

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Ulster. 'O'Reilly,' he writes, 'bordering upon Meath, and lying by situation of his country unfit for any of the other Governments, is to be under the order of the principal governor.'—*Carew Calendar*, i. 338.

[1] 'Reasons for retaining Thomond in Connaught.'—*Ibid.* iv. p. 471.

[2] Collins's *Sydney Papers*, i. p. 75.

by Donagh, Henry, and Barnaby, successive Earls of Thomond.[1] In 1639, however, under Strafford's government, it was arranged that on the death of the last-mentioned earl the territory should be re-annexed to Munster; and though the ensuing disturbances delayed the fulfilment of this intention, the county of Clare was finally reunited to Munster at the Restoration.

But to revert to Sir Henry Sidney. If he was successful in his operations in the distant province of Connaught, he was less fortunate, not only in the north, where, indeed, the conditions were hardly ripe for such work, but in a district much nearer to the seat of his government. It is certain that the county of Dublin was originally much larger than its present area indicates; and it appears probable that it anciently extended from Skerries, in the north, to Arklow, in the south. It had been conterminous, in fact, as has been pointed out, with the ancient Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin—a territory still marked for us by the ecclesiastical division of the United Dioceses of Dublin and Glendalough.[2] But the Danish rulers of Dublin troubled themselves little about the interior of the country,[3] and it is doubtful whether at any time prior to Henry VIII. the wild septs of the Byrnes and Tooles, whose incursions in the neighbourhood of the city Stanihurst describes so graphically, had given even a nominal recognition to the Norman or English power. In the thirty-fourth year of that monarch's reign these septs are said to have petitioned the Lord Deputy and Council to make their country shire ground, and to call it the county of Wicklow; but nothing came of the proposal.[4] Be that as it may, the sway of these Wicklow chieftains was exercised without dispute down to Sidney's day right up to the near neighbourhood of Dublin, and the inhabitants were ever, as Davies observes, 'thorns in the side of the Pale.' Indeed it may be said that the whole country south-west of Dublin, including large portions of Kildare, Carlow, and Wexford, as well as the modern Wicklow, long remained a rude 'hinterland' into which law and order seldom penetrated. The State Papers are full of such entries as this of 1537—'Devices for the ordering of the Kavanaghes, the Byrnes, Tooles, and O'Mayles for such lands as they shall have within the County of Carlow and the marches of the same county, and also of the marches of the County Dublin,'—which plainly show the unsettled state of the boundaries of these districts. In 1578, however, a commission issued under the Act of 11th Elizabeth and 'the Birns' and Tooles' country with the glens that lie by south and by east of the County of Dublin was bounded out into a shire, to be named and called the County of Wicklow.'[1] But though this commission was carried out, and the boundaries of the counties defined by Sir William Drury, who succeeded Sidney in the Irish government, the troubles of Elizabeth's later years in Munster and Ulster left little leisure to her Deputies to attend to the Wicklow septs. The Byrnes and Tooles resumed their independence; and in 1590, as Sir George Carew wrote, 'those that dwell within sight of the smoke of Dublin' were not subject to the laws.[2] When Sir Arthur Chichester came to complete the work Sidney had begun a generation earlier, of 'adding or reducing to a county certain, every bordering territory whereof doubt was made in what county the same should lie,'[3] he found that the mountains and glens of Dublin were almost as far as ever from 'civility,' and contained such a multitude of untutored natives that it seemed strange that 'so many souls should be nourished in these wild and barren mountains.' The shiring of Wicklow was finally accomplished only in 1606, and it thus fell out that the county nearest to the metropolis was of all the last to be brought effectively within the scope of English government.

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[1] *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, pt. ii. p. 185.

[2] Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, pp. 139 and 246.

[3] Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 277.

[4] *Book of Howth*, *Carew Cal.* p. 454.

In connection with this attempt towards the formation of the county Wicklow, Sidney had also a project for dividing Wexford into two shires, of which the northern part should be called Ferns. This county, severed by the Wicklow mountains from the metropolis, had, though less disturbed than its neighbours, been practically outside the Pale.[1] The southern part of it, indeed, according to a 'Description of the Provinces of Ireland,' written about the year 1580, was 'civil,' that part contained within a river called Pill (a name given to the estuary of the Bannow) being inhabited by 'the ancientest gentleman descended of the first conquerors.' But this district was connected with the capital by sea only, and the rest of the county was inaccessible. Sidney and Sir William Drury, finding 'that there were no sufficient and sure gentlemen to be sheriffs, nor freeholders to make a jury, for her Majesty,' the project was let drop. Their successor, Sir John Perrot, had the same object in view, and in a report to Elizabeth, 'how the natives of Ireland might with least charge be reclaimed from barbarism to a godly government,'[2] he gives a picturesque account of the condition of the south-eastern counties and the need which existed for providing a proper system of administration. 'The Birnes, Tooles, and Kavanaghs must be reduced.' They are 'ready firebrands of rebellion to the O'Moores and O'Connors, and till they be brought under or extirped, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's County cannot be clear either of them or of the O'Moores or O'Connors, or of the incursions and spoils of the McGeoghegans, O'Molloys, and other Irish borderers.' But though he stated the difficulty thus vigorously, Perrot, like Sidney, left Ireland without doing anything effective to remedy it. Sir Henry Sidney's last tenure of the office of Lord Deputy had closed in 1578, and for the next few years the Desmond rebellion perforce put a stop to the work he had set himself to accomplish. It was not until the southern rising had been crushed that Sir John Perrot, who, in 1584, succeeded to the Irish Government, was able to resume the work. Though this statesman is best remembered in our history in connection with the composition of Connaught, which was effected during his administration, it is in relation to Ulster that his proceedings have most interest in the present connection. To Perrot belongs the honour of having divided the northern province into divisions substantially corresponding to its modern counties, though twenty years were to elapse before these divisions were generally recognised, or before they became effective portions of the administrative machinery of the country.

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[1] Fiant of Elizabeth, No. 3603, Irish Record Office.

[2] *Carew Cal.* iii. p. 44.

[3] Sir J. Davies's *Discovery*

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[1] See Hore and Graves's *Social State of the South-Eastern Counties in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 27.

[2] Sloane MS. 2200 Brit. Mus.

The story of the Anglo-Norman colonies of Ulster and the settlements of Lecale, the Ards, and Carrickfergus, has never been fully analysed, and to tell it is outside our present purpose.[1] Here it must suffice to observe that the only counties in the modern sense of the term which can be recognised as existing in Ulster before the time of Elizabeth were Louth, which, as already noted, was anciently accounted part of that province, and the counties of Antrim and Down. The precise date at which the two last were constituted is unknown; but it appears by the 'Black Book of Christ Church' that they, or at least certain districts bearing these names, had existed prior to the reign of Edward II. From that time down to the settlement in Antrim of the McDonnells of the Isles, under Henry VIII., little is known of them; but the two counties had been recognised as settled districts by Perrot's time, and as such were distinguished by that Deputy from the 'unreformed' parts of Ulster. In 1575 Sir Henry Sidney had made a journey to Ulster with a view to dividing the province into shires, but had failed to effect anything—an effort which was referred to by Sir John Davies in his address as Speaker of the Irish Parliament in 1613; when, congratulating the Commons on the completeness of its representation, he observed, 'How glad would Sir Henry Sidney have been to see this day, he that so much desired to reform Ulster, but never could perfectly perform it.'

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[1] A good deal of information on this topic is given in a series of papers by Rev. A. Hume in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* vol. i.

Perrot's contribution to the shiring of Ulster was little more than a settlement on paper of the boundaries of the new counties he desired to create. It is best described in the language of Sir John Davies:—'After him [Sidney] Sir John Perrot . . . reduced the unreformed parts of Ulster into seven shires, namely, Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, though in his time the law was never executed in these new counties by any Sheriff or Justices of Assize; but the people left to be ruled still by their own barbarous lords and laws.' Perrot's work was of course interrupted, and for the time rendered nugatory, by the rising of Hugh O'Neill; but it was so far effective that his division became the basis of the subsequent allocation of the northern territories, which, a few years later, followed the Flight of the Earls and the Plantation of Ulster.

Had affairs in England permitted the Government to give steady and continuous attention to the government of Ireland, it is probable that the work initiated by Sussex and Sidney, and so largely extended by Sir John Perrot, would have been completed before the close of Elizabeth's reign. But Perrot was recalled in disgrace in 1588, and the business of shiring Ireland was arrested for nearly twenty years. With O'Neill taking full advantage of the difficulties in which England was involved by the struggle with Spain, and asserting his power effectively throughout Ulster, the subdivision of the northern province remained purely nominal. Even in the more settled districts much confusion reigned. The result is seen in the discrepancies which appear between the various accounts which remain to us of the division of Ireland at this time. These exhibit considerable confusion, not only as to the counties of which each province was made up, but even as to the provinces themselves. Thus Haynes, in his 'Description of Ireland,'[1] in 1598, states that Ireland is divided into five parts. He includes Meath among the provinces, mentioning it as containing four counties, viz. East Meath, Westmeath, Longford, and Cavan, though he adds that the last is by some 'esteemed part of Ulster.' On the other hand, in a survey printed in the 'Carew Calendar,'[1] revised to the year 1602, Longford is included in Connaught, while Cavan is not mentioned, and the completeness of the relapse of Ulster from 'civility' is shown by the description of that province as containing three counties and four 'Seignories.'

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[1] See Haynes's *Description of Ireland in* 1598. Edited by Rev. Edmund Haynes, S.J., F.R.U.I.

Thus it was not until after the accession of James I., in the time of Sir Arthur Chichester, that, in the words of Sir John Davies, 'the whole realm being divided into shires, every bordering territory whereof doubt was made in what county the same should lie was added or reduced to a county certain.' The boundaries of the counties forming the provinces of Connaught and Ulster were ascertained one after another by a series of Inquisitions between the years 1606 and 1610, which confirmed in the main the arrangements tentatively made by Perrot, though in the case of Ulster these were necessarily varied in some important respects, particularly as regards Londonderry, by the changes resulting from the Flight of the Earls and the Plantation of the northern province. The enumeration of counties and provinces in Speed's 'Description of the Kingdom of Ireland,' in 1610, shows, as already noted, that in that year the precise allocation of counties among the provinces still remained vague and indeterminate in the popular estimation. But Meath had by that time disappeared from the list of provinces; and though some years were to elapse ere all the counties could be finally delimited, this process had been practically completed when Sir John Davies finally left Ireland in 1619, except in the case of Tipperary, where the exceptional conditions created by the existence of the Ormond palatinate long retarded the final settlement.

Although Munster is of all the great divisions that which, if compared with the original distribution imputed to King John, shows the least alteration in its county system, the southern province has not been without its vicissitudes in this respect. In Perrot's time Munster consisted of as many as eight counties, and the final settlement of the six counties now embraced in it was, in fact, delayed until after the other provinces had assumed their present form. The shiring of Munster was effected chiefly through the instrumentality of the provincial administration known as the Presidency of Munster, which was established by Sidney in 1570. No single act of Elizabethan policy had more important or more satisfactory results than the institution of the Presidencies of Munster and Connaught; and as the gradual demarcation of the counties of both provinces as they now exist was largely effected by their means, it seems desirable to give a brief account of an institution which was devised by Sidney, as Davies puts it, 'to inure and acquaint the people of Munster and Connaught again with English Government.'

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[1] *Carew Cal.* iv. pp. 446–54.

The first idea of these instruments of administration was formed in the time of Edward VI., when a scheme was devised for the appointment of separate Presidents for each of the three provinces of Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. But although Sussex had a clearly defined scheme for giving effect to this policy, it was not until Sir Henry Sidney's first administration that, in 1565, definite shape was given to it, or that the constitution of what for the next century were known as the Presidency Courts of Connaught and Munster was formally drafted. The Presidency included not only a President answerable to the Lord Deputy, but a Council composed of prelates and nobles of the province, and a Chief Justice with two Justices and an Attorney-General, together with a Treasurer, Clerk of the Council, and other administrative officers. In 1568 Sir John Pollard was nominated first President of Munster, and in the year following Sir Edward Fitton became President of Connaught. No President was appointed for Ulster, the charge of which was confided, under a temporary Commission, to a marshal: an officer whose duties were half civil, half military. Pollard, however, never entered on his government, and the first acting President of Munster was Sir John Perrot, who, appointed in 1570, was for six years a strenuous representative of the Crown in that province.[1]

It is a matter for great regret that the records of these Presidencies have long since perished.[2] They seem to have been lost in the troubled times succeeding the rebellion of 1641, and the presidential institution itself did not long survive that cataclysm. Though they lingered beyond the Restoration, the Presidencies were not regarded by the Duke of Ormond as necessary or efficient instruments of government; and in 1672, during the viceroyalty of Lord Essex, they were finally abolished. But though the presidential system was not destined to remain a permanent feature in the administrative system of Ireland, its operation during the years first following its institution was unquestionably effective. In Perrot's hands, both as President of Munster, and later when as Deputy that statesman became responsible for the whole country, it was largely utilised to effect what was practically a fresh delimitation of the old counties of Munster. In an old 'note,' probably dating back to the fifteenth century, quoted by Perrot in his Report to Elizabeth, already cited, the Munster counties are thus enumerated:

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[1] The following is the succession of the Presidents of Munster and Connaught respectively, as given in *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*:—

Presidents of Munster: 1568, Sir John Pollard (never acted); 1570, Sir John Perrot; 1576, Sir William Drury; 1579, Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond; 1584, Sir John Norris; 1597, Sir Thos. Norris; 1600, Sir George Carew; 1603, Sir Henry Brouncker; 1607, Henry, Lord Danvers; 1614, Donatus, Earl of Thomond; 1625, Sir Edward Villiers; 1627, Sir William St. Leger; 1643, Jerome, Earl of Portland; 1660, Roger, Earl of Orrery.

Presidents of Connaught: 1569, Sir Edward Fitton; 1579, Sir Nicholas Malby; 1584, Sir Richard Bingham; 1597, Sir Conyers Clifford; 1604, Richard, Earl of Clanricarde; 1616, Sir Charles Wilmott; 1630, Charles, Viscount Wilmott, and Roger, Viscount Ranelagh; 1644, Thomas, Viscount Dillon, and Henry, Viscount Wilmott; 1645, Sir Charles Coote, Earl of Mountrath; 1661, John, Lord Berkeley of Stratton; 1665, John, Lord Berkeley, and John, Lord Kingston. Both Presidencies were abolished in 1672.

[2] See Prendergast's *Introduction to Cal. S. P. Ireland*, James I., 1606–8, pp. xx–xxxv. A volume called *The Council Book of Munster* survives in the Harleian Collection at the British Museum (Harl. Coll. No. 697); but it only extends from 1601 to 1617. The Instructions of the Deputy and Council to Sir George Carew as President of Munster in 1599–1600 will be found in *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 6 *et seq*. The Instructions for 1615 have been printed in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, ii. p. 1.

'In Munster there be five English shires—Cork,[1] Limerick, Waterford, Kerry, Tipperary; and three Irish shires—Desmond, Ormond, and Thomond.' It will be noted that the five former of these counties, with Thomond or Clare, nominally make up the modern province of Munster. Ormond represents Tipperary, less the county of Cross Tipperary, and as such still possesses a well-defined meaning. Desmond is a district perhaps less clearly defined in the popular mind. It embraced a large portion of East Kerry and West Cork, and at one time was actually erected into a separate county. In 1571 a Commission issued to Sir John Perrot and others, under the Statute 11 Elizabeth,[2] for the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, and the countries of Desmond, Bantry, and Carbery, and all countries south of the Shannon in Munster, to make the country of Desmond one county, and to divide the rest into such counties as may be convenient. As a result of this Commission, Desmond became and was long regarded as a distinct county, and its boundaries appear from an Inquisition of 1606. But though Fynes Moryson places Desmond on the list of the Munster counties, stating it to have been lately added, its separate identity is not invariably recognised, though for a time it boasted that essential note of independence, a separate sheriff. This, however, had disappeared before the close of Elizabeth's reign, for Haynes writes in his account of Cork that that county,[3] 'being the greatest in the realm, have been tolerated to have two sheriffs—the one particular in Desmond, the other in the rest of the county—and this without any ground of law, but by discretion of the L. Deputies; the inconvenience thereof being espied, it had been of late thought good that one sheriff should be for Kerry and Desmond, and so two sheriffs in one county against law taken away.' The amalgamation with Kerry appears to have been completed by 1606,[1] when Mr. Justice Walshe, in describing to Salisbury the Munster Circuit of that year, mentions particularly the successful union of Desmond and Kerry.

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[1] It appears from a document among the *Carte Papers* that as late as 1606 a proposal was entertained at the instance of the people of Youghal to divide the county of Cork into separate shires, owing to the impossibility of including so large a territory in the bailiwick of a single sheriff. An Order in Council to this effect seems actually to have been made, the eastern district being designated the county of Youghal, with Youghal as its county town.—*Carte Papers*, lxi. p. 337.

[2] Fiant, Eliz. No. 1486, *Irish Record Office.*

[3] *The Description of Ireland in* 1598, ed. by Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J., p. 169

The dual representation of Tipperary in the list of Irish counties was long a puzzle to antiquaries, and even an inquirer so diligent and in general so accurate as Sir John Davies was misinformed on the subject, notwithstanding the minute inquiries he appears to have instituted into the origin of what struck him as a curious administrative anomaly. 'At Cashel,' he writes in his account of the Munster Circuit of 1606,[2] 'we held the Sessions for the County of the Cross. It hath been anciently called "the Cross" (for it had been a county above 300 years; and was, indeed, one of the first that ever was made in this kingdom) because all the lands within the precincts thereof were either the demesnes of the Archbishop of Cashel, or holden of that See, or else belonging to Abbeys or houses of religion, and so the land as it were dedicated to the Cross of Christ. The scope or latitude of this county, though it were never great, yet now is drawn into so narrow a compass that it doth not deserve the name of shire.'

Davies' confusion as to the two counties of Tipperary, which continued to be separately represented in the Irish House of Commons down to Strafford's Parliament of 1634, was extremely natural in view of the limited information available when he thus accounted for the anomalous existence of the county of Cross Tipperary. But, in fact, the duplication had really originated in the palatine system. To the accident which preserved Tipperary as the last of the palatinates was due the survival of Cross Tipperary as the last of the counties of the Cross. The county palatine of Tipperary was originally created by letters patent, granted in 1328 by Edward III. to James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, and confirmed by successive monarchs to that nobleman's successors in the honours of the Butler family. The jurisdiction thus granted embraced the whole county of Tipperary, with the exception of certain Church lands, which constituted, as was usual with Church land in palatine counties, a distinct shrievalty under the ordinary jurisdiction of the King's Courts. In addition to these districts of the Cross, there was also excepted from the palatine grant the district of Dough Arra, or MacBrien's country, adjacent to Killaloe, which, long a debatable land on the borders of the three counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, was in 1606 joined by Chichester to the county of the Cross of Tipperary.

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[1] *Cal. S. Papers* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 573. See Appendix III. to this paper, p. 141 *infra*.

[2] *Ibid.* 1606–8.

In 1621, during the wardship of the daughter and heiress of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormond, the palatinate of Tipperary was seized into the Crown by James I. But the county of the Cross apparently remained unaffected by this exertion of the royal prerogative, and, as already noted, it was represented in the Parliament of 1634, though the county proper appears to have returned no members to that assembly. The palatinate remained in abeyance for a period of forty years, till, after the Restoration, it was reconstituted by Charles II. in 1664, in favour of the first Duke of Ormond. The grant on this occasion included both the old territory of the Cross, which never thereafter returned members to Parliament, and the district of Dough Arra, formerly excepted from the palatine county.[1] The liberties and royalties of the whole county of Tipperary were enjoyed by the Butlers until the attainder in 1715 of the second Duke put an end to the last Irish example of these great mediæval jurisdictions.[2] The Statute 2nd George I., cap. 8, 'An Act for extinguishing the royalties and liberties of the County of Tipperary,' by its second section enacted, 'that whatsoever hath been denominated or called Tipperary or Cross Tipperary, shall henceforth be and remain one county for ever, under the name of the County of Tipperary.'

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[1] See p. 142, *infra*.

[2] See *5th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland*, p. 7, and Appendix III. pp. 33–38.

APPENDIX I

THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE IRISH COUNTIES.

It may, perhaps, be justly expected that in any attempt to sketch the origin of the Irish counties some explanation of their names should be given. The nomenclature of the counties has nowhere been made the subject of a specific inquiry, nor is it certain that the derivations commonly accepted are in all cases accurate. But though the subject is not one of which the writer can treat with independent knowledge, it may be convenient to give the derivations as stated by Dr. P. W. Joyce in *Irish Names of Places*. In the case of those counties which are not mentioned expressly in that well-known work, I am indebted to Dr. Joyce's learning and kindness for the means of making the list here given complete, or nearly so. In several instances, as Mayo and Down, in which the name is derived from a word indicating a natural feature which is not characteristic of the general aspect of the county to which it has been applied, the discrepancy is due to the county being named from a town within its borders. In such cases the term will be found fairly descriptive of the town or its neighbourhood, though not of the county at large.

Unless where otherwise stated, the references given in brackets in this list are to Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*.

Name of County	Irish Equivalent	Meaning
Antrim[1]	Aontruibh	—
Armagh	Ard-Macha (i. 77)	Macha's height
Carlow	Cetherloch or Catherlough (i. 448)	Quadruple lake
Cavan	Cabhan (i. 401)	A hollow
Clare	Clar (i. 427)	A board: figuratively, a flat piece of land
Cork	Corcach (i. 462)	A march
Donegal	Dun-na-nGall (i. 97–8)	The fort of the foreigners
Down[2]	Dun (i. 280)	A fortress
Dublin[3]	Duibh-linn (i. 363)	Black pool
Fermanagh	Fir-Monach (i. 131)	The men of Monach
Galway	Gailleamh (Wilde's *Lough Corrib*, p. 12)	The daughter of Breasil, king of the Firbolgs

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[1] Dr. Joyce declines to commit himself as to the derivation of Antrim. Dubourdieu following the editor of Ware says 'the name is said to have been Andruim or Endruim—that is, the habitation of the waters, from its being almost insulated by sea and lake.

[2] The name was applied at first only to the county town of Downpatrick, and the name originates, of course, in the *dun* near the cathedral of that town.

[3] See also Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, p. 23.

Name of County	Irish Equivalent	Meaning
Kerry	Ciarraide (i. 127)	The race of Ciar
Kildare	Cill-dara (i. 115)	The church of the oak
Kilkenny	Cill-Cainneach	The church of St. Canice
King's County	See p. 119 *supra*	
Leitrim	Liath-dhruim (i. 525)	Grey ridge
Limerick [1]	A corrupted form of Luimneach (i. 49)	A barren spot of land
Londonderry [2]	Derry	Oak wood
Longford	Longphort (i. 300)	A fortress or encampment
Louth	Lughmhagh	Lug (?) Magh = a plain
Mayo	Magh-eo (i. 510)	The plain of the yews
Meath [3]	Meidhe	A neck
Monaghan	Muinechàn	A little shrubbery
Queen's County	See p. 119 *supra*	
Roscommon	Ros-coman	The Wood of St. Coman
Sligo [4]	Sligeach	River
Tipperary	Tobar or Tiobraid-Araun (i. 453)	The Well of Ara
Tyrone	Tir-Eoghain	The territory of Owen
Waterford Wexford Wicklow	In the case of these three counties the names given by the Danes to their towns have completely superseded the ancient Irish designations of the adjacent districts.	

APPENDIX II

THE ENGLISH PALE IN 1596.[5]

A Perambulation of Leinster, Meath and Louth, of which consist the English Pale (1596).

I. County of Dublin.

The Barony of Cowlock lyeth North & by East from Dublin. . .

The Barony of Balroddry lyeth North from Dublin . . .

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[1] As applied to the fair and fertile lands of Limerick, this derivation seems singularly unhappy. Its original application was, however, confined to a portion of the estuary of the Shannon. See also Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, ii. p. 194.

[2] Prior to the plantation of Ulster, Londonderry was known as Derry Columbkille, from the Monastery of St. Columba. In pagan times it was called Derry-Calgach, or the Oakwood of Calgeach, or fierce warrior.

[3] According to Dr. Joyce, the province of Meath was so called from being formed by cutting a *meidhe*, or neck, from each of the other provinces. The four pieces met at *Aiall-na-Meeran*, or the Stone of the Divisions, at Ushnagh in co. Westmeath. See Joyce's *Child's History of Ireland*, p. 58.

[4] The name was originally applied to the river at Sligo.

[5] The date is supplied by Carew himself in the margin of the original in *Carew MSS*. vol. 600, p. 143. The dots represent the names of the principal residents in each barony, with their places of residence, which are given in the abstract of this document printed in *Carew Cal*. iii. pp. 188-9. The abstract does not give the particulars here printed.

The Barony of Castleknock lyeth North from Dublin . . . .

The Barony of Newcastle lyeth South & by West from Dublin . . . .

The Barony of Rathdown lyeth East South East from Dublin . . . .

The Boundary of this Countie :—

By East the Mayne Sea:
By North part of the County of Meath & the Nanywater.
By North West part of the Countie of Meath.
By West & by South the Countye of Kildare.
By Sowth the Otooles Cuntry & the Glins.
By Sowth East the Obirnes Cuntry.

The River of Lythie cōming downe thorowe the Cownty of Kildare falleth eastward into the Sea ij myles from Dublin.

II. County of Wicklow.

The Birns' & Tooles' Country wth the Glins that lie by Sowth & by East the County of Dublin was by Commission bownded owte into a Shire to be named & called the Cownty of Wicklowe & was divided into Baronies as followeth:

The General Bowndes of the County.

The same to begin to the North East where the River of Delgin falleth into the sea, w^{ch} River divideth the Barony of Rathdown in the Countie of Dublin from the Birns Cuntrey, & so the Sea to be the eastern bordre unto the River of Arclo, w^{ch} River of Arclo shalbe the Mear on the Sowthe syde, as it falleth unto the great moore or Bog called Caillimona or the narrow bog, & so including the territorie called Cosha, untill it cōme to Ballishon ats. Johnstowne, leaving the Cowntie of Catherlagh to the Sowthward to go direct unto a foorde upon the river of Slane called Ahridlas: from w^{ch} ffoord the same River of Slane shalbe the Meire westward untill it passe to the landes of Rathbranne, addiōning to the sayde River, w^{ch} Towne & landes of Rathbranne w^{t} the Towne & landes of Tenoran, Rathtoole, Griffinstowne & so muche of Colvinstowne as is nowe supposed of the County of Dublin, & also the Townes & landes of Rathsallagh & Whitstowne & the bowndes to the North Westward untill it come to Aghcarrigord: from whence leaving suche of the Lo: Arch-bisshop of Dublin's landes as beareth wth the Barony of Newcastle to the Northward to passe unto the foorde called

Anacassan & so compassing in Russells Towne and the landes of the Burbage to passe unto the crosse of Ballycomyn: from whence leaving that part of the Bishops lands w^ch^ beareth w^th^ the Barony of Nuecastle, as is also aforesayde, w^th^ the parishe of Ballimoore, & the Countie of Kildare to the Northward, The way w^ch^ leadeth from thence eastwarde, & divideth the Barony of Nuecastle from the Cowillagh unto Agherillin to be the mear or boundes, and so from thence as the Barony of Rathdown passeth unto Kilmasanton, from whence passing over the mountaignes Eastward and towardes the Sowth, & leaving Farollin and Glancapp to the Northwardes, the River of Delgin that falleth from thence to be the meare to the Sea, as first above sayde, w^ch^ conteyneth in length abowte xxij myles & in breadth xx myles.

The speciall boundes of it divided into vj severall Baronies.

Nuecastell Maghenegan.—So muche of the Birnes Cuntrey as lyeth betwixt the water of Delgin & Barnesketh in length from North to the Sowth, and so from the Sea on the East to the Fertrye on the West conteyning abowt x myles in length & iiij myles in breadth, to be called the Baronny of Nuecastle Maghenegan.

Inishboghin.—The Birnes Cuntry from Barneskeagh unto Toerulcomyn & from thence to the water of Avilo in length from the North to the Sowth leaving Colrenell to the west & the sea to be East bordre contayning xij myles in length & iiij myles in breadth to be named the Barony of Inishboghin.

Ballinicor.—Colranell & as muche of Cossha as is w^th^in the generall mean streching westwarde to the landes of the Toreboy in length from the Northwarde to the Southwarde having the Birnes Cuntry on the East & Omaly on the West conteiñing in length viij myles & in bredth vij myles to be called the Barony of Ballinicore.

Talbots-Towne.—The Torboy Omayle & as muche landes as is compassed w^t^in the river of Slane from Aghridlas to Roods towne conteyñig in length abowt vj myles & in breadth iiij myles to be named the Barony of Talbots-town.

Holywood.—From the landes of Roodestowne, the townes & landes of Rathbrane, Rathtoola, Tenoran, Griffiths-towne & as muche of Colvinstowne as was supposed to be of the Countie of Dublin, Rathsallagh, Trenistowne, Ballyhooke, Marga, Etterely, Whitstowne, Dowarde, Hollywood, the parish of Boystowne, the Ladin, Kiltagarũln, Russelstowne, Burge the three-Castles Kilbryde, & the Brittas contayning xij myles in length & iij myles in bredth to be the Barony of Hollywood.

Castle Kevin.—The territories called the Fertrye & Salkye vij myles long and iiij myles broad to be called the Barony of Castle Kevyn.

The County of Wexforde.

The River of Slane roons from the west to the east or rathr from the north west to the Sowth east, dividing the whole Cuntry in a maner in the midest, & hathe the Towne of Wexford situat at the mowth of it hard by the Sea: That Towne lyeth from Dublin Sowth sowth west & is distant from it lx myles: viz.: from Dublin to Nuecastle-Mageneghan xviij myles: thence to Arclo the Erl of Ormondes Manor & Castle xviij more & so to Wexforde by Glascarrike along the Sea xxiiij.

. . . .

This Countie is bounden by east wth the sea: By Sowth & Sowth West wt the Cownty of Waterforde: By West wth the Cownty of Kilkenny: By Northwest wth the Countie of Catherlagh the river of the Barrowe dividing of them: And by north wth Cownty of Wicklo or the Cuntreys before specified whereof that County should have been made.

The County of Kilkenny.

It is bounded: East the Cowntie of Wexforde. Southeast & Sowth the County of Waterforde. West the Cownty of the Crosse of Tipperary: Northwest upꝑ Ossory: North Leix or the Queen's Cownty & Idough. North east the Cavenaghes of Idron in the Cownty of Catherlagh.

The Towne (? County) of Carlo als. Catherlagh.

From Dublin to the Naas xij myles To Kilcullen v } xxxij
to Castles Dermood x to Catherlogh v all west } myles.

. . . . . . It is bounded:

By East the Cownty of Kildare.
By Sowth East the Mountaignes of Kildare.
By Sowth the County of Wexforde.
By Sowth east the Cavenaghs.
By Sowth west the Cownty of Kilkenny.
By West the Queenes Cownty in the furthr syde the Barrowe.
By North part of the Queens Cownty & of the County of Kildare.

The County of Kildare.

The boundes.

On the East the Cownty. On the Sowth east the marches of the Cownty of Dublin. On the Sowth the Otooles & County of Catherlagh. On the Sowth by west the Q: Cownty; on the west the King's Cownty. On the North & northwest the Countye of Meath.

The Queens Cownty aꝉs. Leyx.

The Bowndes.

By East: the Cownty of Keldare & the river of the Barrowe.

By North: The King's Cownty als. Offally; & Odoynes Cuntrye.

By West: The Lo: of Upper ossories Cuntry;

By Sowth: Idough part of the Cownty of Kilkenny.

. . . . From Mariburgh to Catherlagh Castle whereof Harpoole is Constable & w^ch^ lyeth from Mariborough Sowth by East circa xiiij myles.

The Queens Cownty is in length xxij myles. In breadth from the Barrowe east, to the water of Neon west. xij myles.

The Kings Cownty als. Offaly.

The Boundes.

By East the County of Kildare. By Southest the River of the Barrowe. By Sowthe the Queens Cownty. By Sowthwest Odoynes Cuntry.

By West the Shennon. By northwest the Cownty of Westmeath. By North & by northeast the Cownty of Meath.

The Boundes of Westmeath.

By east the County of Meath. By Sowtheast, a nook of the Cownty of Kildare. By Sowth the Kings Cownty aꝉs Offaly. By Southwest part of Maroghlands Cuntry & the Shennon. By West, the Shennon & Athloan, where Conaghe begins. By West, & by North, the Cownty of Longford aꝉs the Annly. By North the Cownty of Cavan aꝉs the Brenny. By Northeast part of the Cavan & part of Meath.

The Boundes of Meath.

By East the Cownty of Dublin. By North the river of the Slann ꝑt of the Cownty of Lowth & the Brenny. By north east part or a nooke of Dublin. By West the Cownty of West Meath. By northwest the Brenny. By Sowth & south west part of the Kings Cownty. By Sowth & Sowtheast the Cownty of Kildare.

The Bounds of Lowth. 157

By east the Sea.
By Sowth the Cownty of Meath.
By West part of the Brenny.
By Northwest Farney and Clancarvile.
By North the fues & O hanlons Cuntry.

APPENDIX III

REPORT BY MR. JUSTICE WALSHE[1] TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY, ON HIS CIRCUIT IN MUNSTER IN 1606.

Justice Walshe to the Earl of Salisbury.

Right honourable my humble duty premised. I am obliged (by my promise last in my letters sent to your lordship in July last) to certify your lordship of the success of the last circuit in Munster, wherein the third baron of the Exchequer and myself were employed. Our beginning was at Cork, where some sharp executions hath been of relievers of the late slain rebel Maurice McGibbon, of the White Knights' country. Thence we passed into Kerry, where no sessions were holden this last seven years. And although that county be yet unpeopled and poor, yet we found by their frequent resort unto us that they thirsted much after justice. We have there by special commission united Desmond, a wild Irish country, unto the county of Kerry. The Lord President did forbear to go to that county, because (as his lordship said) he feared there would not be sufficient victuals to be had there. All the churches in that county are ruined and uncovered; and therefore a great part of our care was to procure the re-edifying of them; and I fear it will not be effected very suddenly because there are but few hands that can give help thereunto. Thence we passed over the river of Shannon to the county of Clare and sat at Innis (Ennis), where we found that country far better inhabited, and we cannot but attribute the chief cause thereof to the Earl of Thomond, who hath well defended the inhabitants of that county from the rage of rebels in the war time and from foreign thieves since the rebellion ended. And assuredly there is not much stealing among themselves. We saw two bridges newly erected there, the one betwixt the Shannon and Clare, the other betwixt Bunratty and Limerick. When we came to Limerick we met with the Lord President, where sharp punishment was inflicted upon relievers of rebels, which I assure myself will be for a long time to their good remembered in that county. From thence our remove was to the Cross of Tipperary, and at Cashel some few but special offenders were executed. And there also we have by special commission united the country of Arra, or McBrien Arra's country, to the said county, because the Cross is a very small county, and the other was wont to be a receptacle of offenders obeying the officers of no county. And lastly we ended at Clonmel, for the exempted points of the liberties of Tipperary, where some six notable offenders were executed for treason, viz., murder of malice prepense, which is in this land made treason, and for the procurement and relieving of murderers. In all these counties we have by ordinary course of law indicted most of the townsmen for not coming to their parish churches in service time, according to the statute made in 2 Eliz., which course is far less irksome to the people than to draw them in by mandate or other means consisting upon the King's mere prerogative. Before this circuit began I was specially charged to deliver a great gaol at Kilkenny, and after the end of our circuit at Munster I came to Sir James Ley and to Sir John Davies to Waterford, betwixt whom and the Mayor of that city there was some difference for their sittings as Justices of the county of the city of Waterford, and I gave some help to appease their variance by joining with them in assistance of the Mayor and sheriffs to inquire of recusancies, and by an inquest of citizens had the greatest part of the inhabitants indicted, which was the thing they desired most to effect, and thus having summarily related our travel in Munster, etc., I humbly take leave. From Waterford, this 18th of September, 1606.

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[1] Sir Nicholas Walshe had a distinguished judicial career. In a letter of the Irish Privy Council in 1606 he is described as 'one who hath with good credit and sufficiency very faithfully & painfully served in office here above thirty years.'—*Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 484. He had held the office of Chief Justice of Munster prior to 1584, when he was appointed second Justice of the King's Bench. In 1597 he was promoted to the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, in succession to Sir Robert Dillon, and he held this post until his death in 1615, when he was succeeded by Sir Dominick Sarsfield. In 1587 Walshe was sworn of the Irish Privy Council. The letters patent authorising his admission to this honour testify to the high opinion entertained of him. See Smyth's *Law Officers of Ireland*, p. 102. The report here printed *in extenso* is very briefly summarised in *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 573.

Your honourable lordship's most humbly at commandment,

NICHOLAS WALSHE.

Endorsed: To the right Honourable my singular good lord the Earl of Salisbury, these, &c.

V

THE WOODS OF IRELAND

THAT the climate and soil of Ireland are naturally suited to the growth of timber of nearly every useful kind indigenous to Europe, and that the island was anciently stored with woods and forests of vast extent, is proved not only by the testimony of all who have considered its physical and geological formation, but by the express statement of historians and chroniclers, and the convincing implication of our topographical nomenclature. The woods of Ireland, and especially those formerly adjacent to our capital, were famous even before the coming of the English. It was from the fair green of Oxmantown, once covered with woods that extended westward over the whole of what is now the Phœnix Park, that William Rufus drew the timber for the roof of Westminster Hall, where, as the chronicle of Dr. Hanmer has it, 'no English spider webbeth or breedeth to this day.'[1] And, as tradition avers, it was from Cullenswood that, only a generation after the coming of the Normans, the Byrnes and Tooles made the descent upon the Bristolmen who had settled in Dublin for which Easter Monday was long had in remembrance in Dublin as 'Black Monday.'[2]

Giraldus Cambrensis states in his 'Topographia Hibernica' that the woodlands of Ireland exceeded in his day the plains or cleared and open land. And not even the zealous fervour of the author of 'Cambrensis Eversus' has seriously endeavoured to refute this assertion of our earliest descriptive chronicler.[1] Anyone who looks into Dr. Joyce's suggestive book on Irish names of places will be astonished to note the extent to which the root words expressive of woods, forests, and trees are found in the names of hills and valleys, townlands, and districts which are now bare of every vestige of the abundant timber of which these names have long been the only memory. For example:—The barony of Kilmore, near Charleville, gets its name from the great wood which in the sixteenth century formed, as the 'Pacata Hibernia' tells us, one of the strongest barriers against the soldiers of Elizabeth. Dr. Joyce has calculated that in at least seven hundred cases the 'kils' and 'kills' so numerous in the place names of Ireland really represent the word 'coill,' and are witnesses to woods no longer visible; while 'coillte,' the plural, and 'coillin,' the diminutive of 'coill,' account for many more. 'Fidh,' or fioth [fih], another term for wood, also occurs frequently, and the two baronies of Armagh, called the Fews, are of this origin. 'Ros,' too, occasionally stands for wood, as in the Abbey of Rosserk in Mayo, Roscrea, New Ross, and best known of all, Roscommon. 'Fasach' (faussagh), a wilderness, 'Scairt' (scart), a thicket of scrub, and 'Muine' (munny), a shrubbery, are a few among many arboreal terms which abound in the *index locorum*, and contribute to justify the term 'Inis-na-veevy,' or woody island, which is among the bardic names of Ireland. Over and above the terms signifying woods, are those which denote particular trees, of which Daire (Derry), an oakwood, with its many variations, is the most important.[2] The 'Annals of the Four Masters' abound in references to the ancient woods of Ireland, which prove that in a great part of the country a dominant characteristic of the social system of ancient Ireland was the forest life of the people. And if we may accept as accurate a passage in the 'Annals of Ulster,' for the year 835 A.D.,[3] the acorn and nut crop was so large in that year as to close up the streams, so that they ceased to flow in their usual course.

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[1] 'Meredith Hanmer's Chronicle,' *Ancient Irish Histories*, ii. p. 194. The practice of using Irish timber for buildings intended to be durable seems to have been usual in England in early times. The spire of the thirteenth century bell-tower of Worcester Cathedral, taken down in 1647, was of 'massive timber, Irish and unsawed.'—*Journal of Kilkenny*, Archæological Society, 1856–7, p. 236.

[2] 'Meredith Hanmer's Chronicle,' *Ancient Irish Histories*, ii. p. 370.

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[1] Celtic Society's Edition, ii. p. 110.

[2] Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, i. pp. 491–522.

[3] *Ibid.* i. p. 337.

That this state of things survived to an era well within historical memory is abundantly demonstrated by many authorities. Sir John Davies, a writer whose observations and conclusions, even when we disagree with them, are always suggestive, has noted the degree in which the political system adopted by the Norman colonists of Ireland, and pursued, whether by choice or necessity, by the English Government for many centuries, had the effect of preserving this feature. That system was to drive the native population from the plains to the woods; with the result that the Irish territories tended to become ever more and more a succession of forest fastnesses. Had a different plan been adopted, the woods, as Davies points out, would have been wasted by English habitations, as had happened just before his own time in the territories of Leix and Offaly, round the new-made forts of Maryborough and Philipstown.

The early Plantagenets made some attempt to establish the forest laws in Ireland. In the neighbourhood of Dublin, at all events, a considerable tract must have been brought within their operations, for in 1229 Henry III. granted permission to Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, to carry out the disafforesting of certain lands formerly belonging to the see of Glendalough. It is certain that a royal forest was formed at Glencree, in the county Wicklow. In 1244 sixty does and twenty bucks were ordered to be 'taken alive in the king's parks nearest to the port of Chester to be sent to the port of Dalkey, Ireland, and delivered to the king's Treasurer of Dublin to stock the king's Park of Glencry'; and that the King's lands were not limited to a mere park, but included a forest properly so called, may be inferred from the language of a mandate of Edward I. permitting William Burnel, constable of the Castle of Dublin, 'to have in the king's forest of Glencry twelve oak trees fit for timber of the king's gift to construct his house of Glenecapyn.'[2]

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[1] *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1171–1251, p. 398.

[2] *Ibid.* 1285–92, p. 281.

A reference to the misconduct of the Abbot and monks of St. Mary's, Dublin, in hunting in the King's forest without license supports the same conclusion.[1] But the royal forest of Glencree disappears from view, like so much else, amid the confusion that followed the wars of the Bruces. No mention of it is to be found subsequent to the reign of Edward I. The whole district comprised in the modern county of Wicklow relapsed after the Bruce disturbance into the control of the Irish septs of the Byrnes and Tooles; nor was it effectively redeemed by the Crown until the opening of the seventeenth century.[2]

Apart, however, from this formation of the royal forest of Glencree, no attempt was made for above three centuries after the arrival of the English in Ireland to encroach to any serious extent upon the native reserves of the Irish inhabitants, though a Statute of Edward I., passed in 1296, contained a clause which was designed to provide highways through the country.[3] But the wars of the Bruces which followed within a few years of this enactment, and the subsequent decadence of English power, prevented the taking of any effective steps under this Statute.

Down to the middle of the sixteenth century, it may fairly be said, no substantial alteration took place in the face of Ireland in this regard. In Chief Justice Finglas's 'Breviate of the Getting of Ireland and of the Decay of the Same,' written about 1529, occurs a passage which shows that well on into the reign of Henry VIII., the period, indeed, at which the English Pale had shrunk to its narrowest limits, the districts in which English law remained supreme were everywhere hedged round by impassable forests. Finglas prescribed a remedy very similar to that enforced by Edward I., more than two centuries earlier :—'Item—That the deputy be eight days in every summer cutting passes of the woods next adjoining to the king's subjects, which shall be thought most needful,'—and he enumerates above thirty passes, most of them adjacent to the Pale, which required to be made or maintained.[1] The numerous writers to whom we owe our knowledge of Elizabethan Ireland and of the age immediately succeeding, concur in representing the great forests as having survived in most places to the middle of the sixteenth century, and in many till well into the seventeenth.[2] Sir Henry Piers, in his 'History of Westmeath,'[3] designed to illustrate the Down Survey, speaks of that county as deficient in nothing, 'except only timber of bulk, with which it was anciently well stored.' Yet barely a century before this was written, Westmeath had been one of the most secure fortresses of 'the king's Irish enemies,' as the native septs were called; and it was for this reason that under Henry VIII. the county was severed from Meath to which it had anciently belonged.[1] During the wars of Elizabeth it was still a proverb that 'The Irish will never be tamed while the leaves are on the trees,' meaning that the winter was the only time in which the woods could be entered by an army with any hope of success; and the system of 'plashing,' by which the forest paths were rendered impassable through the interlacing of the boughs of the great trees with the abundant underwood, was the obstacle accounted by most of Elizabeth's soldiers the most dangerous with which they were confronted. Derricke, in his 'Image of Ireland,' written in 1581, gives a description of the woods which, even if we discount the figures on the score of poetic licence, must be held to show that in his day the forests still covered enormous areas. He speaks of them as often twenty miles long.[2]

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[1] *Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey* (Rolls Series), i. p. 4.

[2] For an excellent account of the Forest of Glencree see a paper by Mr. T. P. Le Fanu, M.R.I.A., in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* for 1893, p. 268.

[3] The clause ran as follows: 'The Irish enemy, by the density of the woods and the depths of the adjacent morasses, assume a confident boldness; the King's highways are in places so overgrown with wood, and so thick and difficult, that even a foot passenger can hardly pass. Upon which it is ordained that every lord of a wood, with his tenants, through which the highway was anciently, shall clear a passage where the way ought to be, and remove all standing timber as well as underwood.'—Betham's *Origin and History of the Constitution of England and of the Early Parliaments of Ireland.*

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[1] The following are the names of the passes as given by Finglas:—'The Passes names here ensueth, Downe, Callibre, the Newe Ditch, the Passes to Powerscourt, Glankry, Ballamore in Foderth, going to Kearnes (or Ferns), Le Roge, Strenanloragh, Pollemounty, Branwallehangry, Morterston, two passes in Feemore in O'Morye's country, the passes of Ferneynobegane, Killemark, Kelly, Ballenower, Taghernefine, two passes in Reymalagh, the passes going to Moill, two in Kalry, the passes of Brahon Juryne, Kilkorky, the Lagha and Ballatra, Karryconnell and Killaghmore, three passes in Oriore: one by Donegall, another by Faghert, and the third by Omere; Ballaghkine, and Ballaghner.'—Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 51.

It is not now possible to identify all the counties in which these passes were situate.

[2] In Payne's *Brief Description of Ireland*, written in 1590, there occurs a passage illustrative of the agricultural value of the forests. 'I find by experience,' wrote Payne, 'that a man may store 1,000 acres of woodland there (in Ireland) for 30*l*. bestowed in draining, which being well husbanded, will yield more profit than so much like ground in England of 10*s*. the acre and 500*l*. stock, for in the Irish woodlands there is great store of very good pasture, and there mast doth not lightly fail; there swine will feed very fat without any meat by hand.'—Payne's 'Brief Description of Ireland,' ed. Aquila Smith; *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, i. p. 13.

[3] Printed by Vallancey in 1774.

The adoption of a resolute policy in Ireland by the Tudor sovereigns was the first step towards the reduction of these immense woodland areas. The gradual extension throughout the country of the measures first applied to Westmeath led, under the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, to a rapid clearance of large tracts of the country. Fynes Moryson, in the closing years of Elizabeth, found the central plain of Ireland nearly destitute of trees. 'I confess myself,' he writes, 'to have been deceived in the common fame that all Ireland is woody, having found in my long journey from Armagh to Kinsale few or no woods by the way, excepting the great woods of Ophalia;[3] and some low, shrubby places which they call glens.[4] The Pale had, of course, for centuries been denuded of its woods, if it ever possessed them on a large scale, and as early as 1534 an ordinance of Henry VIII. had directed every husbandman to plant twelve ashes within the ditches and closes of his farm. With the disappearance, in the person of Tyrone, of the last Irish chieftain powerful enough to hold independent sway in the island, this clearance was extended towards Ulster. By Strafford's time Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow, and the Queen's County were the only districts in which the forests were still extensive. And even here they had begun to decline. Sir William Brereton noted in 1635 that in the neighbourhood of Carnew, in Sir Morgan Kavanagh's once thick woods, there remained 'little timber useful save to burn, and such as cumbreth the ground.' He adds that wood is 'a commodity which will be much wanting in this kingdom, and is now very dear at Dublin.'[1] The civil war which followed the Rebellion of 1641 doubtless tended largely in the same direction, and by the time of the Commonwealth Boate noted in his 'Natural History of Ireland' that in some parts you might travel whole days without seeing any trees save a few about gentlemen's houses. This was especially so on the northern road, where for a distance of sixty miles from the capital not a wood worth speaking of was to be seen. 'For,' he adds, 'the great woods which the maps do represent to us upon the mountains between Dundalk and the Newry are quite vanished, there being nothing left of them these many years since, but only one tree standing close by the highway, at the very top of one of the mountains, so as it may be seen a great way off, and therefore serveth travellers for a mark.'[2]

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[1] By the Statute 34 Henry VIII. cap. i.

[2] 'The woodes above and 'neath those hills,
Some twentie miles in length:
Round compacte with a shakynge bodye,
A forte of passyng strength.'
Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, Small's Edition, 1883, p. 28.

[3] 'A porc̄on of the county of Ophaly is called Fergall, a place so stronge as nature could desire to make yt by wood and bogge, with which yt is environed.' —Dymmok's 'Treatise of Ireland in 1599'; *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 43.

[4] See also Part II. p. 228 *infra*.

The destruction of the woods, due in the first place to deliberate policy and in the next to the accidents of war, was accelerated both during the long peace that preceded the Rebellion, and afterwards in the years following the Restoration, by the progress of the arts of peace. The revival of Irish industries was nearly as fashionable a shibboleth in the middle of the sixteenth century as it has

[1] See Brereton's Travels, Part II. *infra.*

[2] Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History*, chapter xv.

been at intervals in later ages. In those days the favourite objects of solicitude were the manufacture of pipe-staves, and the development of the iron-works which were then supposed to be the true El Dorado of Irish enterprise—most people holding with Bacon that 'Iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth.' Both industries depended for their success upon the woods, which were accordingly drawn upon regardless of the consequences. From Munster whole ship-loads of pipe-staves were exported, to the great profit of the proprietors and the great destruction of the woods; and Boate says, 'it is incredible what quantity of charcoal is consumed by one iron-work in a year.'[1] Richard Boyle, the well-known Earl of Cork, was reputed to have made 100,000*l.* by his iron-works, and the sale of timber must have brought him almost as much again. Sir William Petty's was another of the great fortunes in part accumulated by the destruction of the woods of Ireland. But that Petty, undoubtedly one of the most large-minded Englishmen whom the confiscations of the seventeenth century attracted to Ireland, was not unmindful of the need for maintaining the timber supplies of the country, may be inferred from the fact that in his 'Political Anatomy of Ireland,' he recommends the 'planting' of 'three millions of timber trees upon the bounds and mears of every denomination of lands' in the country.[2] So rapid was the consumption, however, that the want of fuel, formerly abundant, began to make itself felt. Thomas Dinely writing in his Journal,[3] about the year 1681, remarks on the consequent substitution for the first time of turf for wood firing. 'The wars,' he says, 'and their rebellions having destroyed almost all their woods both for timber and firing, their want is supplyed by the bogs.' A century later Arthur Young noted that in the neighbourhood of Mitchelstown there were 'a hundred thousand acres in which you might take a breathing gallop to find a stick large enough to beat a dog, yet is there not an enclosure without the remnants of trees, many of them large.'[1]

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[1] Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History*, chapter xvi.

[2] Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, chapter ii.

[3] Reprinted from *Kilkenny Archæological Society's Journal*, Second Series.

The troubles of the Revolution and the succeeding changes were also injurious to the woods. The Commissioners of Forfeited Estates comment severely on the general waste committed by the grantees of these properties, instancing in particular the woods round Killarney, where trees to the value of 20,000*l.* were cut down, and the Muskery district, where the destruction was almost as great.[2] That this reckless dealing with the timber supply of the country was continued for the best part of a generation may be inferred from a passage in the seventh Drapier's Letter, in which Swift asserts his belief 'that there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time with so little advantage to the country either in shipping or building.'[3] This process of rapid consumption of the anciently abundant woods of Ireland continued far into the eighteenth century, and notwithstanding a succession of enactments designed to encourage planting, the woodland areas diminished so rapidly that, to quote Arthur Young once more, 'the greatest part of the country continues to exhibit a naked, bleak, dreary view for want of wood, which has been destroyed for a century past with the most thoughtless prodigality, and still continues to be cut and wasted as if it was not worth the cultivation.'[4]

Although some maps of the time of Henry VIII. are extant which indicate very roughly the wooded districts, nothing approaching to a statistical record of the distribution of the woods of Ireland is available for an earlier date than the seventeenth century. Baron Finglas's rough list of passes has already been referred to, and is the earliest specific notice on the subject. In Dymmok's 'Treatise of Ireland,' 1599, is given 'A particular of such strengths and fastnesses of wood and bog as are in every province in Ireland,'[1] in which the principal forest districts are set out by name. It is evident, however, that Dymmok derived his information not from any first-hand acquaintance with the whole country, but from the notes of one of the most diligent inquirers into the condition and resources of Ireland who had ever visited the country, the well-known Sir George Carew. In the Lambeth Manuscripts, which bear his name, are to be found Carew's observations on the subject.[2] They are much fuller than Dymmok's list. Half a century after Carew's time, the Books of Survey and Distribution, compiled in 1657, and preserved in the Irish Record Office, show the dimensions of the woodlands throughout the country as ascertained at that date. The maps of the Down Survey also indicate in a rough way the distribution of the woods. And a list of the iron-works through the country in the seventeenth century would indicate as many places in which substantial woods still existed at that period.

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[1] Young's *Tour in Ireland*, ii. p. 62. The clearance at Mitchelstown deplored by Young has been largely made good by plantations within the last century.

[2] Lecky's *History of England*, ii. p. 330.

[3] Swift's *Works*, ed. Sir W. Scott, vii. p. 52; Prose Works, ed. Temple Scott (Bohn's Library), vi. p. 200.

[4] Young's *Tour in Ireland*, ii. p. 62.

It appears from these and other sources, that at about the close of the seventeenth century the woods or forests of importance were distributed roughly, thus:

1. Leinster: In the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, and Kilkenny, and in the great territories of Leix and Offaly, covering the greater portion of Queen's and part of King's County.

2. Ulster: In the counties of Tyrone, Londonderry, Antrim, and Down, particularly on the east and west shores of Lough Neagh, and the territories adjacent.

3. Munster: In Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, the southern borders of Tipperary, and East Waterford.

4. Connaught: In the barony of Tyrawly, in Mayo and North Sligo, in Roscommon, and along the course of the Shannon.

It is obvious, however, that the rapid diminution of the woodland area during the seventeenth century was not an absolutely unmitigated misfortune. It was the natural consequence of that social transformation which necessarily followed the effective assertion of the authority of the English Crown throughout the island in the reign of James I. Apart from all questions between the races, it was as desirable as it was natural that large districts formerly usurped by the forest should be restored to agriculture. Had the clearances effected, first by the soldiers of Elizabeth and next by the planters of James, ended with those which followed the Restoration, there would have been no great reason to complain. But an era of confiscation was necessarily unfavourable to the development of the resources of the land; and successive owners, threatened with the early determination of their interest in their estates, utilised the short period of possession to turn their timber into gold. Thus the woods that had survived fell at an alarming rate, and the Government were obliged to intervene. Accordingly, the Irish statute-book, from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century, contains many measures which had for their object the encouragement of planting, and the replacing of the timber in districts from which it had disappeared. Some of these are of great interest, and well deserve attention.

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[1] Irish Archæological Society's *Tracts Relating to Ireland*, ii. p. 26.

[2] Lambeth MS. 635.

The earliest instance of legislation for the protection of trees was the application to Ireland by Strafford of an English statute of Elizabeth 'to avoid and prevent divers misdemeanours of idle and lewd persons in barking of trees.' An Act of 10th Charles I. (chapter 23) gave this measure force in Ireland; but it appears to have been designed mainly for the protection of the orchards and young trees in the plantation districts, and not to have been directed to the conservation of the larger woods. The seventeenth century had almost run its course before any further statute was passed. In 1698, however, the ministers of William III. felt it was time to intervene. 'An Act for Planting and Preserving Timber Trees and Woods' recognises in its preamble the operation of the causes which had led to the too rapid destruction of the old woods. It runs thus:—'Forasmuch as by the late rebellion in the Kingdom and the several iron-works formerly here, the timber is utterly destroyed, so as that at present there is not sufficient for the repairing the houses destroyed, much less a prospect of building and improving in after times, unless some means be used for the planting and increase of timber trees.'

The remedies prescribed by this act were threefold:

I. All resident freeholders, having estates to the value of 10*l.* yearly and upwards, and all tenants for years at a rent exceeding that sum, having an unexpired term of ten years, were required, under a penalty from and after March 25, 1703, to plant every year, for thirty-one years, ten plants of five years' growth of oak, fir, elm, ash, or other timber. Owners of iron-works were required to plant five hundred such trees annually, so long as the iron-works were going.

II. Every occupier of above five hundred Irish acres was required to plant and enclose, within seven years of the passing of the Act, one acre thereof, and to preserve the same as a plantation for at least twenty years.

III. All persons and corporations seized of lands of inheritance were charged with the planting of their respective proportions of 260,600 trees yearly of oak, elm, or fir for a period of thirty-one years. The proportions in which these trees were to be planted in each county is set out in a list in the fourth section of the act, and the proportion in which each county should be planted was to be apportioned by the grand juries, by baronies, and parishes at each summer assizes.[1]

A further provision gave tenants planting pursuant to the statute a right to one-third of the timber so planted. This was increased by a later Act to one-half.

The legislation of William III. was followed by several acts passed in succeeding reigns with the same object. An

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[1] 10th Wm. III. cap. 12. As the list given in Section 4 throws some light on the relative needs of each county in regard to timber at the time, it is printed in Appendix II. to this paper.

Act of Queen Anne abolished the duties on unwrought iron, bark, hoops, staves and timber, and forbade exportation of these commodities except to England. And a further Act forbade the use of home-grown gads or withes, or the erection of May-poles of home-growth. These Acts, however, failed to produce the desired effect.[1] Thomas Prior, in the appendix to his List of Absentees, attributed this failure to the insufficient interest given to tenants in the trees planted by them, and suggested that planting should be encouraged by obliging owners, on the fall of leases, to pay their tenants the timber value of all trees planted by the latter. An Act of George III. passed in 1775 expressly recognised in its preamble the failure of the earlier legislation, which it accordingly repealed. It made fresh provision for the preservation of trees, and did something to carry out Prior's views, which were zealously supported by the Royal Dublin Society, an institution of which Prior was one of the founders, and which has always been honourably distinguished by the interest it has displayed in the preservation of the woods of Ireland.

The stimulating criticism and suggestions of Arthur Young, who, as already noted, visited Ireland just at this time, undoubtedly had much to do with the more enlightened views on the subject which, towards the close of the eighteenth century, began to characterise the majority of Irish landowners. One or two of his observations on this subject are worth quoting. 'I have made,' says Young, 'many very minute calculations of the expense, growth, and value of trees in Ireland, and am convinced from them that there is no application of the best land of the kingdom will equal the profit of planting the worst of it.'[2] The remark savours, perhaps, of the accustomed optimism of the reforming stranger who has never submitted his theories to the test of practice, and is ready to sell wisdom before he has bought experience. But no more competent observer than Arthur Young has ever applied a trained and cautious intelligence to the consideration of the economic problems of Ireland. It is certain that, however wisely we may hesitate to adopt literally this epigrammatic summary of his views on planting, Young's opinions were based on an unusually thorough statistical investigation of the country, coupled with an exceptionally wide knowledge of agricultural conditions in other European countries. Young's observations on the subject are the more worth noting in view of modern conditions because he bestowed much attention on the means of enlisting the peasantry in the cause of planting, and displayed a firm confidence that 'instead of being the destroyers of trees they might be made preservers of them.' With this view he recommends in his 'Observations' that premiums should be given to farmers who planted and preserved trees, and suggested that the tenantry should be obliged to plant under a special clause in their leases, requiring them to plant a given number of trees per annum in proportion to the size of their holdings.

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[1] Swift, in his seventh Drapier's Letter, already quoted, recommended 'that the defects in those Acts for planting forest-trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual, except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen,' and recommended that owners should be restrained from 'that unlimited liberty of cutting down their woods before their proper time' 'to supply expenses in England,' as he puts it elsewhere in the same letter.

[2] Young's *Tour in Ireland*, ii. p. 64.

APPENDIX I

WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN ULSTER.

Glenbrasell, by Lough Eaugh (Lough Neagh), a great boggy and wooddy fastnes.

Glencan, a boggy and wooddy country environed with two rivers viz.: the Blackwater and the Ban.

Killultagh, a safe boggy and wooddy country, upon Lough Eaugh.

Kilwarlen, the like bounden together.

Kilautry, lying between Kilwarlen and Lecale.

Glenconkeyn,[1] on the river Ban's side, in O'Chane's country, the chief fastnes and refuge of the Scotts.

THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THE WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN MUNSTER.

Glengaruf, in O'Sullivan More's country, 4 miles long and 2 broad.

Glanroght, in Desmond, 3 long and 2 broad.

Leanmore, in Desmond, 3 long and 3 broad.

Glenglas and Kilmore in the Co. Limerick, 12 long and 7 broad.

Dromfynine, in the County Cork, on the Blackwater, 6 long and 2 broad.

Arlo and Muskryquirke, in Tipperary, 9 long and 3 broad.

Kilhuggy, in Tipperary, bordering on Limerick, 10 long and 7 broad.

Glenflesk, 4 long and 2 broad.

WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN CONNAUGHT.

The woods and bogs of Kilbigher.

Killcallon, in MacWilliam's county.

Killaloa, in county of Leitrim.

The woods and boggs near the Corleus.

WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN LEINSTER.

Glandilour, a fastness in Pheagh M'Hugh's countrie.

Shilelagh, Sir Henry Harrington's, in the county of Dublin.

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[1] Sir John Davies described Glanconkeyn in 1608 as 'the great forest of Glenconkeyn, well nigh as large as the New Forest in Hampshire, and stored with the best timber.' He suggested that the timber should be used for the royal navy, but it was eventually devoted to the building of Londonderry.—*Ulster Archæological Journal*, vi. p. 153.

The Duffries, in the County of Wexford.
The Drones and Leverocke, in the county of Catherlogh.
The great bog in the Queen's County, which reacheth to Limerick.
The Fuse in the County of Kildare.
The woodland bogs of Monaster-Evan, Gallin and Slievemargy in the Queen's County.
The Rowry, near St. Mullins, where the Nur and Barrow unite together, and makes yt halfe an island.
Part of Coulbracke, joyning upon the County of Kilkenny.[1]

APPENDIX II

STATUTE 18TH WILLIAM III. CAP. I. SECTION 4.

And be it further enacted, that the proportion of each county, county of a city, and county of a town of the said two hundred and sixty thousand six hundred trees aforesaid, is and shall be as hereinafter is declared.

1. Antrim county and Carrickfergus, nine thousand seven hundred and fifty.
2. Ardmagh county, four thousand seven hundred and fifty.
3. Catherlagh county, three thousand two hundred and fifty.
4. Cavan county, four thousand six hundred.
5. Clare county, seven thousand eight hundred.
6. Cork county and city, twenty-six thousand six hundred.
7. Donegal county, eight thousand three hundred and fifty.
8. Down county, eight thousand four hundred.
9. Dublin county (whereof the city and its liberties, twenty-one thousand five hundred) thirty-one thousand nine hundred.
10. Fermanagh county, four thousand five hundred and fifty.
11. Gallway county (whereof on Gallway town and liberties, one thousand three hundred) eleven thousand eight hundred.
12. Kerry county, four thousand six hundred.
13. Kildare county, seven thousand one hundred and fifty.
14. Kilkenny county (whereof on Kilkenny city and liberties, seven hundred) nine thousand.

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[1] Of the places enumerated which are not sufficiently indicated in Carew's note have been thus identified :

Kilwarlen, in the co. Down, was the fastness of the Magenis sept in the co. Down.

Glenroght or Glenroghty is now Kenmare.

Leanmore is the modern Killarney.

Glenglas is Clonlish in co. Limerick.

Arlo is the Arlo Hill of Spenser.

15. King's county, three thousand nine hundred.

16. Leitrim county, three thousand two hundred and fifty.

17. Limerick county (whereof on Limerick city and liberties, one thousand three hundred) nine thousand six hundred.

18. Londonderry county, city and barony of Colerain, six thousand five hundred.

19. Longford county, two thousand six hundred.

20. Lowth county (whereof Drogheda and liberties, six hundred and fifty) five thousand two hundred.

21. Mayo county, six thousand five hundred.

22. Meath county, twelve thousand three hundred and fifty.

23. Monaghan county, four thousand five hundred.

24. Queen's county, three thousand nine hundred and fifty.

25. Roscommon county, six thousand five hundred.

26. Sligo county, five thousand two hundred.

27. Tipperary and Holy-Cross, eighteen thousand two hundred.

28. Tyrone county, six thousand five hundred.

29. Waterford county (whereof on Waterford city and liberties, one thousand and fifty) six thousand five hundred and fifty.

30. Westmeath county, six thousand six hundred.

31. Wexford county, six thousand five hundred.

32. Wicklow county, three thousand two hundred and fifty.

VI

THE PARISH CHURCH OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

Honourable as is the antiquity of the parish of St. Andrew's, and varied as are the sources of interest from which it derives its importance in the history of the Irish capital, it is not primarily upon its priority in the roll of Dublin parishes that its attraction depends. Indeed, notwithstanding that the precise date of its origin, running back to the days of the Scandinavian kingdom of Dublin, is lost in the haze of history, it may be doubted whether the strictness of antiquarian pedantry would class St. Andrew's among the ancient metropolitan parishes at all. For, lying outside the walls, neither the church itself nor any part of the parish could at any time have been reckoned as part of the mediæval city, whose eastern boundary terminated at Dammas Gate, just below the Castle Yard. It is in fact as the first of suburban, rather than as among the most ancient of city parishes that St. Andrew's claims pre-eminence. This fact is sufficiently emphasised by the language of an Act of Parliament so modern as the statute under which the parish was reconstituted after the Restoration, in which the church of St. Andrew's is still described as 'in the suburbs of the city of Dublin.' It requires, indeed, no inconsiderable effort of the imagination to picture the parish to which the church of St. Andrew's originally ministered in the days when all Dublin lay within the walls, when green fields stretched right up to the Castle and down to the banks of the Liffey, and when only the village of Hogges, or Hoggen Green, lying on the eminence on which the modern church now stands, and the monastery of All Hallows, intervened between the City and Ringsend.

The erection of a church outside the city walls, yet immediately adjacent to them, was almost certainly due to the Danish occupation of Dublin. And it may even be that the parish is older than the walls. As in the case of St. Bride's and St. Michan's, the earliest associations of St. Andrew's parish are connected with the Danes. Almost the first documentary mention of St. Andrew's itself suggests this. It occurs in the register of the Priory of All Hallows, which records a grant in the year 1241 of land, described as situate in 'Thingmotha, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Dublin.'[1] Now the Thingmotha, or Thingmount, was a conical hill some fifty feet high, used as the meeting place of the Danes of Dublin. Mr. Haliday has conclusively located its site as immediately adjacent to that of the present church, where indeed it remained down to the year 1685. It was hard by this spot, but a little to the west, that Henry II. was lodged on his arrival in Dublin in the palace of earth roofed with wattles which the old chronicler, Roger de Hoveden, describes[2] as having been 'built near the church of St. Andrew's the apostle, without the walls of the city of Dublin.' The church thus referred to lay westward of the present edifice, and there it remained down to the close of the sixteenth century.[3] Concerning the appearance the ancient church presented there is now no sort of record; but of its importance among Dublin churches as early as the thirteenth century there is some evidence. The charter granted by Henri de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin, to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's in 1219, assigned the church of St. Andrew's to the support of the precentor. This was the commencement of an enduring connection between the parish and the cathedral. But it is not certain that the connection was altogether to the advantage of the former, since the duties of their parochial incumbency not unnaturally sat lightly on the cathedral dignitaries. The parish remained in the charge of the precentor for a space of some three centuries, during which history is almost silent. It is more than probable that the union of the living of St. Andrew's with the cathedral precentorship was due to the decline in the importance of the parish as a residential suburb. According to Stanihurst, who wrote late in the sixteenth century, St. George's Lane, the modern South Great George's Street, which is shown in Speed's map of 1610 as practically the only inhabited street in the parish, was anciently a place of more consequence. To use his own words, 'An insearcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) conjecture the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seem to have stretched that way. But the inhabitants being daily and hourly molested and preided on by their prolling mountain neighbours were forced to suffer their buildings to fall in decay, and embaied themselves within the city walls.' Stanihurst narrates in proof of this assertion a striking incident, which vividly recalls the dangers of Dublin life in these early times; and indicates the origin of an important thoroughfare in St. Andrew's parish. 'Among other monuments there is a place in that lane called now Collet's Inns, which in old time was the Escaxor or Exchecker, which should imply that the princes court would not have been kept there unless the place had been taken to be cocksure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie and as it seemed retchleslie [recklessly]; the Irish espying the opportunity, rushed into the Court in plumps, where surprising the unweaponed multitude, they committed terrible slaughters by sparing none that came under their dint, and withal, as far as their Scarborogh leisure would serve them, they ransacked the princes treasure, upon which mishap the Exchecker was from thence removed.' [1]

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[1] Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, p. 162.

[2] *Roger de Hoveden*, ch. ii. p. 32 (Rolls Series). See p. 4 *supra*.

[3] It occupied with its churchyard a plot of ground on the south side of Dame Street, about where the Munster and Leinster Bank now stands.

Whether or not the allocation of its revenues to the precentor indicates that the declension of the church of St. Andrew's in the scale of importance had begun so early as the time of Henri de Londres, it is certain that the parish fell gradually into decay. By the middle of the sixteenth century it had ceased to justify its continued independent existence. Accordingly in the administrative readjustment which followed the Reformation, Archbishop George Browne united the parish of St. Andrew's to that of St. Werburgh's, 'in regard there are so few parishioners, and the income so small that there is not sufficient to maintain a clergyman.'[1] Thenceforward the church ceased to be maintained as such. In the same year which witnessed its amalgamation with St. Werburgh's, one John Ryan, a merchant, obtained a lease for twenty-one years of the rectory of St. Andrew the Apostle and also the chapel of St. Andrew and the cemetery of said chapel, 'together with a garden, three orchards and a dove house, for the yearly rent of 24*s.* 4*d.*'[2] Such was the value of Dublin ground rents three centuries and a half ago. A few years later, in 1561, the church was given up, almost literally, to the tables of the money-changers; for the Lords Justices recommended, as the fittest place for the mint, 'the Castle of Dublin with the help of the chapel next without the Gate';[3] and in the catalogue of churches in the city and suburbs of Dublin, given by Stanihurst in 1586, 'St. Andrews—now profaned' is the last on the list.

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[1] *Description of Ireland*, Holinshed, p. 27. Stanihurst's account of the situation of the Exchequer as originally outside the Castle is confirmed by entries in the Pipe Roll of 28 Edward I. which speak of mending 'the great gate of the Castle towards the Exchequer.'

The expression 'Scarborough leisure,' as an equivalent to no leisure at all, is believed to be derived from a salutary habit of 'hasty hanging for rank robbery' anciently in vogue in Scarborough. See Nares's *Glossary*.

Thirty years or so after the suppression of the parish the ancient edifice suffered a still more marked degradation. The precentorship of St. Patrick's had fallen into the hands of one Sir Arthur Athy, who had been presented to it by the patron Robert, Earl of Leicester, the husband of Amy Robsart.[4] Athy appears to have been a soldier; but otherwise he had nothing to do with the Church militant, for he was not even in orders. Notwithstanding this he was by special letters from Queen Elizabeth preferred to the dignity,[5] and granted a dispensation to hold it. On May 31, 1581, Athy demised his chantership to Leicester, 'the Chanter's House only excepted,' for a term of fifty years at the yearly rent of 60*l.* Irish. Thereupon the church was turned into a stable and yard for the Viceroy, its situation in the immediate vicinity of the Castle rendering it extremely convenient for this purpose.

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[1] D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 230. [2] Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 32.

[3] *Cal. State Papers*, 1509–73, p. 171. [4] Morrin's *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, p. 17.

[5] *Cal. Irish S. P.* 1603–6, p. 169; Mason, App. p. 71.

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With the sacrilege of Precentor Sir Arthur Athy—for the transaction deserves no better name—the history of the ancient church of St. Andrew's terminates. For close upon three-quarters of a century nothing was done to restore or replace it. But the conversion of the edifice to these base uses led to not the least interesting episode in the history of the parish. Whatever the verdict of history on the errors and imprudences of Archbishop Laud, the sincerity of his zeal for the orderly government of the Church according to his conception of it, and his resolution to repress and correct ecclesiastical scandals and abuses, have never been called in question. The debasement of the church of St. Andrew's to profane uses affords an instance of the thoroughness of his supervision of Church affairs. From the year 1603 to 1635 the precentorship of St. Patrick's was held by Athy's successor, Dr. George Andrews, who joined with this dignity the deanery of Limerick. Andrews appears to have asserted his rights as incumbent, and in 1631 obtained a decree in the Chancery of the Court of Exchequer in a suit against the Crown for the recovery of his church, averring that 'the parishioners were ready and willing to be at great charges in re-edifying, building, and beautifying the said church.'[1] An injunction issued accordingly to Lord Chancellor Loftus, as one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in the absence of the Deputy, to deliver up possession to Andrews as rector. Loftus, however, did not immediately obey. For though he wrote to the Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Wentworth, then on the eve of entering on his momentous Viceroyalty, that 'the church may not therefore any longer be continued in its former use; so as it will be fit that some of your servants do think of providing you another stable,' steps were taken to render the decree of the Exchequer abortive. By the procurement either of Loftus or of Strafford himself, a King's Letter issued, staying the injunction and continuing the Crown in possession till the new Lord Deputy should arrive. Hereupon Andrews, who was evidently a man of resolution, laid the matter before Laud, who, though not yet Archbishop of Canterbury, was known to be the guiding spirit of the ecclesiastical policy of Charles I. as well as the firm ally of the new Lord Deputy. 'The Church of St. Andrew's in Dublin,' Andrews wrote on March 26, 1632, 'was 460 years ago annexed to the Chantership of St. Patrick's, Dublin, of which I am the incumbent. About fifty years ago the incumbent (Sir George Athy, Knt.) being absent, it was (*horresco referens*) turned into a stable for the Deputy's horses, it being close to the walls of Dublin Castle.' Laud lost no time in laying the complaint before Strafford, and received from the latter an undertaking to investigate the scandal. Nor was he content to leave the matter here, for Strafford had scarcely seated himself in the Irish government than he received a lengthy letter from the Bishop of London on questions affecting the Church of Ireland, the very first paragraph of which was devoted to the affairs of St. Andrew's.

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[1] Strafford's *Letters*, i. p. 68; *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), March 26, 1632.

'I humbly pray your Lordship,' Laud wrote, 'to remember what you have promised me concerning the church at Dublin, which hath for divers years been used as a stable by your predecessors, and to vindicate it to God's service as you shall there examine and find the merits of the cause.'[1] Strafford, it is evident, lent a friendly ear to Laud's representations, for shortly afterwards in an official letter to England, in which he made complaint of the ruinous condition of Dublin Castle, he observes that 'there is not any stable but a poor mean one, and that made of a decayed church, which is such a profanation as I am sure his Majesty would not allow of; besides there is a decree in the Exchequer for restoring it to the parish whence it was taken; I have therefore got a piece of ground whereon to build a new one.' And a little later he wrote to Laud, 'For the stable to be restored I have already given order for boundering out the Church Yard, and will have another built by June next, and then, God willing, turn back to His Church all which the King's Deputies formerly had from it.'[1]

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[1] April 30, 1633, Strafford's *Letters*, i. p. 81.

Dean Andrews, who had thus the merit of instituting the movement for a restoration, did not long remain in the precentorship. Having earned the disfavour both of Strafford and Laud by endeavouring to procure the insertion of certain Irish articles in the Articles of the Church of England, he was kicked upstairs into the pauper bishopric of Ferns and Leighlin.[2] Whether in consequence of Andrews' removal from the charge of the parish or owing to the troubles of the times, no effective steps were taken for the restoration of the old church, which, though it ceased to be used as a stable, was suffered to fall into ruin, notwithstanding that an assessment seems to have been levied at this time to provide funds for rebuilding. In 1644 Sir George Wentworth, a brother of Strafford's, obtained a lease of the glebe, which had been excepted from Athy's lease to Leicester, for forty years, at a rent of 40*l*. per annum. On the ground so obtained he built a house at a cost of 600*l*.[3] The glebe had stood on the south side of Dame Street, which by Strafford's day had at length begun to be utilised for building purposes.

Prior to Strafford's time the only residence in this direction was Chichester House, formerly Cary's Hospital, which Sir Arthur Chichester, the well-known Deputy of James I., had made his home in consequence of the pestilential condition of the official residence at Dublin Castle. The intervening space between Chichester House and the city walls now began to be occupied by a succession of stately mansions, which, with their spacious grounds stretching to the river, covered the whole area from the northern front of what are now Dame Street and College Green back to the Liffey, whose southern bank must at that time have followed the line of the modern Fleet Street. Of these, the first was built by Sir Christopher Wandesford, Master of the Rolls during Strafford's tenure of the Viceroyalty, who had led the way in the movement of fashionable Dublin in an easterly direction, by setting up his abode in the same street, in a house near the modern Grattan Bridge, 'with a good orchard and gardens leading down to the water-side, where might be seen the ships from the Ringsend coming from any part of the kingdom, from England, Scotland, or any other country, before they went up to the bridge.' At the time of the Restoration the chief of these houses were inhabited by Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesey and Lord Treasurer of Ireland, by one John Crow, an eminent citizen of the day, and by Sir Maurice Eustace, the Lord Chancellor. Their memory is preserved for us in Anglesea Street, Crow Street, and Eustace Street, which were formed along their respective sites on the demolition of these mansions a generation later. The extension of the city was, however, by no means confined to College Green. It included the district of the Stane or Lazy Hill, the name then applied to what are now College Street and Brunswick Street.

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[1] Strafford's *Letters*, i. pp. 131, 173.

[2] See Appendix I., Dean Andrews. Strafford's references to this controversy illustrate his extraordinary interest in the details of his work in Ireland. They make excellent reading, though they are somewhat hard on Dean Andrews. Indeed, no better example can be found of the masterful vigour with which the great Deputy crushed all opposition to his will, or of the utter lack of consideration for the feelings of his opponents which was a principal cause of his own undoing.

[3] Mason's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 34.

To the growth of Dublin without its eastern wall, and the covering of Hoggen Green and its vicinity with houses, is due the revival of St. Andrew's as an effective parish. A residential district so fashionable as the neighbourhood had become could not but need a church in its midst, and the accommodation at St. Werburgh's was probably inadequate to the demand. Accordingly, in an Act passed in 1665 'for the provision of ministers in cities,' several sections were devoted to the revival of 'the Church of St. Andrews in the suburbs of Dublin,' and the incorporation with it of Lazy Hill.[1]

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[1] Statute 17 & 18 Charles II. cap. 7, sections 3, 4, 5, and 6.

The third section of this statute sets forth the state of the case in the following terms:

> Whereas the parish church of St. Andrews in the county of the city of Dublin hath been wholly demolished for these many years past, and no effectual care taken for the rebuilding thereof, whereby the inhabitants of the said parish and of Lazars, alias Lazy-hill, have had no place within themselves for the public service of God, to the great dishonour of God and the discomfort of the people, may it therefore be enacted —that the ambite and tract of ground commonly called the Stane, alias Lazar, alias Lazy-hill be constituted and made part of the parish of St. Andrews aforesaid.

Thus the whole district of what is now the parish of St. Mark's was added to St. Andrew's, and so remained for above forty years, until it was severed, as will be seen later on, by a Statute of Queen Anne. The Act proceeded to provide for the rebuilding of the parish church by the voluntary contributions of the inhabitants; to ordain that it should be presentative as a vicarage; to nominate as the first vicar Dr. Richard Lingard, a distinguished fellow of Trinity College, and to appoint Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, his Majesty's Vice-Treasurer, Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls, whose former residence in the parish is commemorated by Temple-Bar, and Sir Maurice Eustace, Knight, a nephew of the Lord Chancellor of that name, to be churchwardens of the parish for the first two years. Power was given to these officers to make an assessment upon the inhabitants for the building of the church, and the relief of the poor of the parish. The ancient rights of the precentor of St. Patrick's were specially recognised in the sixth section of the Act, which, after reciting that 'the rectory of the church of St. Andrews together with certain houses and their back sides enclosed within the churchyard have anciently belonged to the precentor of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, enacted that the precentor for the time being should continue to be rector of the parish, and appropriated the sum of 10*l*. per annum to be paid to him by the vicar.

Thus far the description here given of the ancient history of the parish of St. Andrew's has been based upon such scattered fragments of information as can be culled from various extraneous sources. But in the post-Restoration history we tread on firmer ground. From the date of the reconstitution of the parish under the Act just cited, we have the invaluable assistance of the admirably complete records which, despite the demolition of the church erected in 1670, and the destruction by fire of its successor, have been fortunately preserved in complete sequence from that date. The vestry books commence with the year 1670, and the first of them, which embraces a period of thirty-six years, throws much light not only on the rebuilding of the church, but on the social condition of this important Dublin parish in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The minutes of the first vestry meeting record a resolution passed on April 5, 1670, 'that according to the tenor of our Act of Parliament the church shall forthwith be built on the place agreed upon, being a certain parcel of land lying within the said parish commonly called the old Bowling-Green, given unto the said parish by the Lord Bishop of Meath for the foresaid use so far as his interest is therein.'

The site so chosen was considerably eastward of the site of the former church, and immediately adjacent to the ancient Thingmount, which had been preserved as public ground for the recreation of the citizens down to the year 1661. The Bowling Green very probably occupied the site formerly devoted to the grounds round Tib and Tom, a small range of buildings adjacent to the Mount, where (according to the historian Harris) the citizens amused themselves at leisure times by playing at keals or ninepins—a pastime which has left its record in an old Dublin proverb, 'he struck at Tib and down fell Tom.'[1] In 1661 this ground had been leased by the city authorities to Dr. Henry Jones, Bishop of Meath, at a small rent, but with a proviso that 'a passage six feet wide and thirty feet square from the top to the bottom of the hill should be preserved to the city for their common prospect, and that no building or other thing should be erected on the premises for obstructing of the said prospect.' But by 1670 this reservation had been so far ignored as to be no longer worth insisting on. No objection was taken by the Corporation to the erection of the church, and a few years later the Thingmount, which by that time had become entirely surrounded by buildings, was utterly demolished.

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[1] See Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, p. 163, where an old woodcut of the Thingmount is reproduced.

No time was lost in proceeding with the building of the new church. From the first it was modelled upon the plan which, though rebuilt at the end of the eighteenth century, it retained down to 1860. The vestry book records a resolution passed on April 18, 1670, 'that the oval model drawn by Mr. William Dodson shall be the model according to which the parish church of St. Andrews shall be built.' Dodson appears to have been at the head of his profession in the Dublin of his day, and to have been much employed by the Government, under whose auspices he was responsible for the laying out of the Phœnix Park, as at first designed.[1] It does not appear whence he drew his inspiration in choosing the oval design, nor has any sketch of the seventeenth century church come down to us. But inasmuch as the foundations were utilised in the rebuilding more than one hundred years later, and its old shape substantially preserved, its form cannot have differed materially from that of the later edifice so well known to the citizens of Dublin a generation ago by the name of the Round Church.[2]

Before entering on the history of the revived parish it may be convenient to trace the subsequent fate of the earlier church and its cemetery. For some time the ruins remained derelict and unsaleable on the hands of the parish, which made more than one abortive attempt to dispose of them. On September 2, 1673, the vestry, considering that 'the old

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[1] See p. 56 *supra*.

[2] Descriptions of the Round Church are to be found in Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland*, i. p. 123; and in Cromwell's *Excursions through Ireland*, i. p. 70.

Churchyard in Dammas Street was waste and of no advantage to the inhabitants,' ordered 'that it be exposed to sale on the fourth day of November next, and that publicly in the Church in the afternoon to all such persons whether strangers or parishioners as shall bid most for the same.' But there was no bidder. Three years later it was arranged that Captain John Nicholas, 'a worthy benefactor of the Church,' should have the use of the old churchyard in satisfaction for 150*l*. due to him for materials supplied for the building of the new church, 'provided always that he do not stir the corpses nor dig the ground otherwise than to level it.'[1] Nicholas subsequently[2] obtained a formal lease of the ground, which was described as 'all that piece or plot of ground lying and being in Dames Street in the parish of St. Andrews called the old Churchyard, being by computation one hundred and twenty feet in length fronting to the said street, and about one hundred and twenty-one feet backward.' The lease then given to Nicholas was some years later assigned to Alderman Sir William Fownes, an eminent citizen whose memory is preserved in the street which bears his name. To him the parish made a fresh lease for forty-one years from December 25, 1698, on the understanding that he was about to carry out large improvements. These improvements consisted in the formation of the Castle Market, which covered a part of the cemetery, and was opened in 1704. In 1717 Sir William Fownes, 'finding little advantage in his lease which obliged him not to dig any cellars or build great dwelling houses,' applied for a new lease, and having obtained one on favourable terms, erected on the remainder a number of houses in Castle Lane, now known as Palace Street.[3] The Castle Market was removed in 1782, when the Wide Streets Commissioners began their operations, and a portion of the old cemetery is now daily trodden by the traffic of one of the busiest thoroughfares in Dublin.

The succession of the clergy of St. Andrew's during the whole of its recorded history down to the Restoration is, as already noted, identical with the succession of the precentors of St. Patrick's; and even under the Statute reconstituting the parish, the precentors retained the title and some of the emoluments of rector. Their names may be found by the curious in Mason's 'History of St. Patrick's.'[1] But with the building of the church there opened a new, and on the whole distinguished, line of vicars, in whose persons it will be convenient to trace the later history of the parish. Of these the first was Dr. Richard Lingard, sometime Dean of Lismore, and Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, whose memory and virtues have been recalled in one of the late Professor Stokes's charming lectures.[2]

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[1] Oct. 4, 1676.

[2] Jan. 1678.

[3] Harris's *History of Dublin*, p. 103.

Lingard, who was a Cambridge Don, selected by the first Duke of Ormond as one of the Fellows of Trinity College on its reconstitution after the Restoration, was named in the Act of Parliament as the first Vicar of the revived parish. His selection may perhaps be held to indicate a desire on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities to associate Trinity College with the parish in which it lay. But Lingard can have had little active connection with St. Andrew's. Though designated as vicar in the Act of Parliament of 1665, Lingard's name appears but once in the vestry book; and he died in November of 1670, long before the completion of the church, which was not opened for worship until some years later.

Lingard was succeeded by perhaps the most celebrated divine on the roll of the vicars of St. Andrew's, the well-known Anthony Dopping, successively Bishop of Kildare and Meath: a prelate remarkable not only for the independence he exhibited in the troubled period of the Revolution, but for his once well-known theological writings. From the date of his appointment in 1670 to his elevation to the episcopate, Dopping proved a vigorous parish clergyman. He evinced the keenest interest in the affairs of his charge, advancing money from his own purse for the building fund, and zealously upholding the rights of the parish. Of his energy in this respect, as well as of his antiquarian knowledge, the vestry books contain an interesting illustration, which incidentally throws valuable light on the ancient state of the parish.

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[1] Mason, Notes, p. lxx.

[2] *Worthies of the Irish Church*, pp. 3–31.

St. Andrew's had been amalgamated at the Reformation, as already stated, with the adjacent parish of St. Werburgh's, a church like itself of great antiquity and of Danish origin. It is scarcely surprising that when, after the lapse of above a century, St. Andrew's regained its independence, some difficulty should have been experienced in determining the bounds of the two parishes. A somewhat angry controversy arose upon the claim of St. Werburgh's that the bounds of St. Werburgh's parish 'do extend without the Dammas Gate on both sides of the way unto the watercourse that runs through the Castle yard (the Poddle) and so along by the Horse Guard, and then empties itself at the end of Essex Street into the Liffey.' The claim of St Werburgh's, which, on reference to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Dublin, was ultimately substantiated, rested upon an order of vestry,[1] dated just a century earlier, which established, with the concurrence of the parishioners of St. Andrew's, that the watercourse just mentioned formed the boundary of the parishes.[2] Dr. Dopping, however, strenuously resisted the claim. In an elaborate 'Account of the Rights of St. Andrew's Parish' he adduced a variety of testimony in support of his side of the question, in the course of which he made the following interesting assertions as regards the topography of this part of Dublin, which though not, perhaps, capable of being sustained, are certainly suggestive.[3]

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[1] Aug. 22, 1574.

[2] See Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, iii. p. 355.

[3] 'Supposing it to be true that the watercourse was the boundary, the query still remains, whether the watercourse be not altered, and the current directed another way, since it appears out of the Chronicles and history of Ireland: 1. That the sea did anciently flow up as far as Ship Street, where it met with the stream that came down under Powle-Gate Bridge; 2. That boats have passed about the city walls as far as Newgate; 3. That it is not so very long ago since the ground (where now the Council Chamber and Essex Street

In 1674, during Dr. Dopping's incumbency, the new church was completed and opened for public worship. The pewholders included, as appears from the vestry books, a number of the most influential residents in Dublin. Among them were the Lord Mayor of the city, who had a seat allotted to him officially; Primate Margetson; the Countesses of Clancarty and Mountrath; Dr. Jones, Bishop of Meath, by whom the site had been presented, and to whom a burial vault had been allotted; and Sir James Ware, the Auditor-General, and son of the well-known antiquary and historian.

Dopping was elevated to the episcopal bench in 1678, and was succeeded in the vicarage by Michael Hewetson, subsequently Archdeacon of Armagh, and author of a curious little work entitled 'A Description of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, and an Account of the Pilgrim's Business there.'[1] Hewetson's tenure of the incumbency lasted for fifteen years, and covered the troublous period of James II.'s reign and deposition. An entry in the vestry books in Dr. Hewetson's handwriting indicates the apprehensions felt for the safety of the church while King James's Parliament sat. It relates to the church plate, and sets forth how 'the silver plate belonging to St. Andrew's Church, consisting of eight pieces, were in the late troublesome time' committed to the rector's care. Two of these pieces, a pair of patens, still form part of the church plate, and bear the inscription, 'preserved in '89 '90.'[2]

Dr. Hewetson's successor was Dr. John Travers, who

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stand) was a perfect strand, and recovered from the sea by Jacob Newman from whom the Earl of Strafford after bought it for the King's use; 4. That the watercourse did anciently run close to the town and castle walls, and from thence it passed under Dammas Bridge, and so emptied itself into the Liffey; 5. I do find further by perusal of ancient history that, before the city walls were built, and for some time after, the water ran round the city of Dublin, and it had large trenches about twenty yards broad; 6. The plot of ground on which the Dammes Mills now stands was anciently called "Insula de le Dames," which supposed a double watercourse encompassing it.' Bishop Dopping was writing as an advocate, in which capacity even a bishop cannot always be reckoned trustworthy. Certainly his advocacy of the case for St. Werburgh's is more adroit than his antiquarian statements are accurate.

[1] Dublin, 1727.

[2] See Appendix II. to this paper.

curiously enough had occupied the position to which his predecessor at St. Andrew's succeeded, of Archdeacon of Armagh. During the space of thirty-four years he ministered in this parish, to which he was a generous benefactor, and the period was signalised by important changes. Dr. Travers built at his own expense an almshouse for widows, and a girls' school, which he erected on a site between Trinity Street and Exchequer Street, purchased from Trinity College, on which Trinity Hall, the original College of Physicians, had formerly stood. He was also a generous benefactor of the parish in his will, and he manifestly enjoyed the warm affection of his flock. The minutes of the vestry for February 25, 1694, the year following Dr. Travers' appointment, contain a curious entry, which proves that this seventeenth century vicar was not untroubled by ritualistic controversies. It sets forth 'a complaint against Mr. Travers, malitiously forged and delivered to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin,' of which the principal allegations were that Divine offices were not performed, nor the Sacraments administered with sufficient diligence, that sermons were not preached on holy days, nor a surplice worn by the minister on such days, and that several rubrics formerly observed were neglected by Dr. Travers. These charges, which appear to have been instigated by Dr. Hewetson, were indignantly repudiated by the vestry, who, after eulogising Dr. Travers' 'reverent, decent, and diligent performance of his ministerial duties,' proceeded to evince the evangelical colour of their Protestantism by this uncompromising declaration:—'The aforesaid information is for the most part false, and in whatever instance 'tis true, we are much better pleased with the alleged omissions than we were with the unnecessary overdoings in the late Vicar's time.'

But by far the most important event in Dr. Travers' incumbency was the severance of what is now St. Mark's from its parent parish. It has been seen how in 1665 the district of the Stane or Lazar's Hill had been formally added to St. Andrew's. At that time it was but thinly populated, and made no extravagant demand on the energies of the minister. But, as a glance at Brooking's map is sufficient to show, it had undergone in the interval a great expansion, and houses had everywhere sprung up. Accordingly it was thought desirable to relieve the old church of this charge, and by an Act of Parliament passed in 1708,[1] which recited that the vicarage or parish of St. Andrew's was too large for its church, it was enacted that after the death, surrender, or promotion of Dr. Travers the parish should be divided, and that a parish to be called the parish of St. Mark's should be constituted, and a church erected on a site presented by one John Hansard, of Lazy Hill. Thus the parish of St. Andrew's reverted to its original dimensions, and from that time its limits have undergone no change.[2] Dr. Travers survived this partition by twenty years, dying in 1727, and leaving by his will substantial bequests to the parish. He had held in addition to the vicarage the Chancellorship of Christ Church Cathedral.

Dr. Travers' successor, the Rev. Robert Dougatt, was a nephew of Archbishop King, by whom he had been appointed Archdeacon of Dublin, and through whose influence he was afterwards nominated to the precentorship of St. Patrick's, and the keepership of Marsh's library. Dr. Dougatt's ministry lasted only three years, and is noticeable chiefly as reviving the former connection between St. Andrew's and the cathedral in the person of its minister. It is curious that he was also appointed vicar of St. Mark's, notwithstanding the manifest intention of the recent Act of Parliament to separate the cures. On Dr. Dougatt's death, in 1730, the Rev. Alexander Bradford commenced an incumbency of thirty years, which, although the new vicar was not a man of special distinction, is remarkable from our present point of view as having witnessed the first formal acknowledgment of the existence of close official relations between the parish of St. Andrew's and the Irish Parliament.

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[1] 6th Anne, cap. 21.

[2] It is a curious circumstance that the Roman Catholic parish of St. Andrew's was constituted in the same year, 1708, which witnessed the severance of the district comprised in it from what still remains for civil purposes the parish of St. Andrew's.

Neither the journals of Parliament nor the records of the parish inform us at what period the practice grew up under which the church of St. Andrew's came to be used as the place of worship of the Houses of Parliament on important public anniversaries. The Irish Parliament first met within the limits of the parish in 1661, when the first of the post-Restoration Parliaments was opened at Chichester House. That building was in 1674 leased to the Crown by its then owner, Dr. John Parry, Bishop of Ossory, for the use of the Parliament. But inasmuch as the Viceroys of Charles II. summoned no second Parliament, from the dissolution of the first one in 1666 to the end of the reign, it is impossible that the church, which was not completely built till 1673, could have been so utilised prior to the Revolution. William III.'s Parliament of 1692 lasted for seven years, during all which time it continued to sit at Chichester House. But there is no evidence that the church was used for State purposes either during this Parliament, or during those called by Queen Anne and George I.; and it is possible that the practice did not begin until after the demolition of Chichester House in 1728, and the erection of the new Parliament House. But, at whatever precise date the custom originated, there is no doubt that for years before the first half of the eighteenth century had run its course, St. Andrew's had become the recognised place of worship of the two Houses, and that it had become customary for the House of Commons to attend in State on certain anniversaries.

The earliest recorded mention of such attendance is in 1733, when the Commons' Journal contains the entry, under date November 5, 'The House met in order to go to Church, and then adjourned till next day,' the occasion being of course the commemoration of Gunpowder Plot. The entry does not mention St. Andrew's but it was almost certainly the scene of the service; for in the same month official recognition was given to the claims of St. Andrew's to be the parish church of Parliament, in connection with a petition by Dr. Bradford to be compensated for the loss of minister's money through the rebuilding of the Parliament House, and the consequent removal of several houses which were cleared for the purpose, and which had formerly contributed to the parochial assessment. At the instance of Mr. Wesley, afterwards the first Lord Mornington and grandfather of the Duke of Wellington,[1] Parliament undertook to make good these losses, and to pay the assessment to the parish for the future. From this period allusions to the attendance of the House of Commons at St. Andrew's are frequent in the Journals. In the year 1745 there occur as many as three entries, in each of which the church is specially mentioned. On October 9 Rev. Dr. Marmaduke Phillips was desired to preach before the House of Commons at St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, on the 23rd of that month, being the anniversary thanksgiving day 'for the deliverance from the horrid rebellion which broke out in this kingdom on the 23rd day of October, 1641'; and on the 24th Mr. Phillips received the thanks of the House for his excellent sermon on the occasion, and was requested to print the same. The Rev. Benjamin Barrington received a like command, and a like compliment, for a sermon on November 5 following. And on November 6, 1746, in a petition to Parliament for assistance in re-roofing the church, the parishioners prayed that, 'inasmuch as the House doth on all public occasions resort to the said Church of St. Andrews, the House may please to take this Petition into consideration.' The committee to which the petition was referred held that the claim of the parish had been proved, and a sum of 500*l.* was accordingly voted in aid of the work. This was the first of a series of contributions by Parliament in aid of the repair or restoration of the fabric of the church, in all of which the position of the parish in relation to Parliament was freely acknowledged. And when in 1793 it was found necessary to rebuild the church, the petition for help from the Commons besought 'such aid as will enable the Parishioners to accommodate the House in a manner suited to its dignity,' inasmuch as 'the House of Commons on public days compose a considerable part of the congregation.' That the House of Lords also occasionally attended appears from the language employed in an address presented in the same year to the Lord Chancellor, Lord FitzGibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, whose aid was solicited on the ground of his occasional presence in the church in his capacity as Speaker of the House of Lords.

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[1] Wesley's Dublin residence, Mornington House, still stood until quite recently in the parish. He was an active member of St. Andrew's vestry, as well as of the House of Commons.

The closeness of the connection between Parliament and the parish is traced with great fulness in a petition presented to the House of Commons of the United Parliament on January 22, 1805, by Mr. Foster, the ex-Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, in which help was sought to enable the parish to complete the restoration of the church begun in 1793. This document opens with the assertion that 'Hitherto and until the Act of Union both the Houses of Parliament of Ireland were situate in the parish, to the Church of which the Speaker and Members of the House of Commons always resorted on public and solemn occasions.' It recalls the instances already enumerated of the extension of parliamentary patronage to the parish, and cites the reports of several Committees of the Irish House in 1796, 1798, and 1799, in which financial assistance was rendered on the express ground that the parish could not by its own exertions render the church fit for the reception of the parishioners and members of the House.

The work of rebuilding the church was spread over a period of fourteen years. Commenced in 1793, the work was frequently interrupted for want of funds, notwithstanding contributions of 500*l*. and 1,000*l*. respectively from Parliament, and in 1798 was entirely suspended during the period of the Rebellion. The original intention had been to rebuild the church *de novo* from the foundation on an entirely fresh design, and plans drawn by Mr. George Hartwell on this understanding were approved by the vestry. It was soon evident, however, that the funds for so extensive an undertaking could not be raised. It being ascertained that the old walls from below the level of the windows were in a perfectly sound condition, it was decided to retain the original shape; and the ground plan of the Round Church designed by William Dodson a hundred and thirty years earlier was thus preserved. Hartwell having resigned his commission as architect, the work was confided to Francis Johnston,[1] by whom the new front was designed. The interior arrangements, which all authorities concur in eulogising as extremely handsome and convenient in all respects, save as to the acoustic properties of the building, were carried out by the father of the celebrated novelist, Charles Lever.

But even to this reduced scheme the resources of the parish were soon found to be inadequate, and it is doubtful whether the church would ever have been restored but for the munificence of the Imperial Parliament on the one hand and a fortunate windfall to the parish on the other. The petition already referred to, presented to the House of Commons at Westminster by Mr. Foster, was favourably entertained, and a sum of 6,000*l*. voted for the completion of the church. About the same time a suit which had been long in progress respecting the allocation of the sum paid into the hands of the trustees by the Wide Streets Commissioners in respect of the old churchyard was brought to a conclusion, the parish establishing its title through the lapse of the lease formerly given to Sir William Fownes, and the funds being divided by decree of the Lord Chancellor between the vicar and the parish. The money thus made available was devoted to the building fund. So aided, the work was at last brought to a completion fourteen years after its inception, and the church opened for Divine Service on March 8, 1807, in the presence of the Viceroy and a distinguished congregation. The total cost, inclusive of the organ, and of the fine statue of St. Andrew, which long stood over the entrance, but which now in a much battered condition lies in a corner of the churchyard, amounted to 22,000*l*.

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[1] Johnston was also the architect under whose superintendence the additions to the Parliament House consequent on its conversion to its present uses were carried out by the Bank of Ireland.

Long before the building could be finished the Parliament, on whose honourable connection with which the parish of St. Andrew's will always pride itself, had disappeared. But for many years the church contained a valuable memorial of the days when it was the parish church of the Irish Parliament. Through the graceful act of the Viceroy, Lord Hardwicke, the parish was presented in 1802 with the handsome gilt candelabrum which had hung in the Irish House of Commons. This relic now adorns the examination hall of Trinity College, to which building it was fortunately transferred in view of some contemplated repairs to the roof of the church a year or two before the great fire of January 9, 1860, in which it must otherwise have perished.

Apart from their interest in relation to the Irish Parliament, the parish records of St. Andrew's illustrate life in Dublin during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many particulars appear in them which throw light on the social condition of the city. The parochial regulations for the relief of the poor, especially a plan for lodging beggars according to the parishes to which they belonged, which is the subject of an animated paper in Dean Swift's miscellaneous writings,[1] occupy several entries. There are also many references to the mode of lighting the streets,[2] to the inefficiency of the watchmen, and the frequency of street outrages, and other like matters. But these and other topics, such as the contents of the parish registers, the eminent persons connected with the parish, and the charity sermons of Dean Kirwan, who preached some of his most eloquent sermons in St. Andrew's, are matters too purely local in their interest to be set forth here. Equally impossible is it to recall the story of St. Andrew's in the nineteenth century. But it is the less necessary to do so from the fact that by the close of the eighteenth century the parish had assumed very much of the appearance it presents nowadays. For though a succession of handsome banks and other buildings have altered the south side of Dame Street, the thoroughfares are in the main unchanged. From an archæological and antiquarian point of view the more recent history of the parish has no special claim on our attention; while the one conspicuous parochial event for which the nineteenth century is memorable, is the destruction of the old Round Church by fire on the morning of Sunday, January 9, 1860.[1]

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[1] 'A Proposal for giving Badges to the Beggars in all the Parishes of Dublin.' Swift's *Works*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, vii. p. 381.

[2] The said Messrs. Stokes and Gregory did also acquaint the Vestry that in pursuance of the forementioned printed agreement of the Churchwardens they had caused between the 19th and 26th days of February last (1726) an ascertainment to be made upon an actual view and measurement of the number, distances, and proportions of the Public Lamps in this parish, by which it was found that there was no public lamp erected in the places following, namely, Dermot's Lane, Lindsay's Row, St. Mark's Street, the Folly on Lazers Hill . . . . and of 165 public lanthorns or lamps in other places of this parish 135 were then (like as in all probability they had been before from the time of their erection and have been since) at illegal distances; that is to say, each of the said 135 lamps was at a greater distance from y^{e} next lamp than 22 yards in streets, considerable lanes and broad places, and than 33 yards in narrow bye lanes, courts and allies, and of the 165 lanthorns about 130 did not project 2½ feet from irons erected for that purpose.'—Extract from report to Select Vestry, 1726.

APPENDIX I

DEAN ANDREWS AND STRAFFORD.

Successful as was Dean Andrews in invoking Laud's aid in the rescue of St. Andrew's from desecration upon this occasion, he does not appear to have long retained the good opinion of his Grace of Canterbury. In a letter to Strafford, dated Oct. 20, 1634, on the subject of episcopal promotions, Laud refers to Andrews as follows:[2] 'I received a letter from the Dean of Limerick, Mr. George Andrews, that he might now succeed in the bishopric (of Limerick), but his letters came too late. . . . I did formerly receive a letter from the Lords Justices of that Kingdom in Mr. Andrews' behalf, with a great testimony of his sufficiency,[1] and truly, my Lord, I should have done any reasonable thing for him upon their testimony, had not the thing been settled upon another. Now my thoughts do a little stagger, and by the letters which he hath sent me that staggering is occasioned; I send you herein his letters, that you may see what fustian they are, but when you have read them, I pray you burn them (for I would not publicly disgrace him), and send me word in your next what esteem you have of the man for honesty and sufficiency.'

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[1] The existing building, which replaced the Round Church, was built at a cost of above 10,000*l.* from the design of Messrs. Lanyon, Lyne, and Lanyon, of Belfast; its foundation was laid by the Viceroy, Lord Carlisle, on August 11, 1862; and it was consecrated on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, 1866, by Archbishop Trench, in presence of the Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Abercorn.

[2] The correspondence will be found in Strafford's *Letters*, i. pp. 330–44.

The Dean's letters were doubtless duly destroyed; but some idea of the nature of his offence may be gathered from a lengthened reference to his proceedings as chairman of a select committee of the Lower House of Convocation in Ireland, appointed to consider the canons of the Church of England, in which the Dean had the temerity to exhibit an independence of the High Church party little to the liking either of the imperious prelate or of the masterful Deputy. Strafford's report of the matter in a letter to Laud is as follows:

'The Popish Party growing extreme perverse in the Commons House, and the Parliament thereby in great danger to have been lost in a storm, had so taken up all my thoughts and endeavours that for five or six days it was not almost possible for me to take an account how business went among them of the Clergy. Besides, I reposed secure upon the Primate (Ussher) who all this while said not a word to me of the matter. At length I got a little time, and that most happily too, informed myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the Lower House of Convocation, had appointed a select Committee to consider the Canons of the Church of England, that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their bishops, that they had gone through the Book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A, and on others they had entered a D, which stood for Deliberandum; that with the fifth Article they had brought the Articles of Ireland to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication, and that they had drawn up their Canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the Convocation.

'I instantly sent for Dean Andrews, that reverend clerk, who sat forsooth in the Chair at their Committee, requiring him to bring along the said foresaid Book of Canons so noted on the margin, together with the draught he was to present that afternoon to the

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[1] Andrews had been recommended to Laud in 1631 for the bishopric of Killaloe.—*Lismore Papers*, 1st Ser., iii. p. 111.

House: this he obeyed, and herewith I send your Grace both the one and the other.

'But when I came to open the book, and run over their *Deliberandums* in the margin, I confess I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him certainly not a Dean of Limerick, but an Ananias had sate in the chair of that Committee; however sure I was Ananias had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam. That I was ashamed and scandalised with it above measure. I therefore said he should leave the book and draught with me, and that I did command him upon his allegiance that he should report nothing to the House from that Committee till he heard again from me.'

Strafford goes on to detail how he forthwith summoned a meeting of the committee together with several of the bishops, at which, after rebuking with characteristic vehemence 'the spirit of Brownism and contradiction' he observed in their *deliberandums*, he forbade all discussion touching the articles of Ireland, and enjoined them to vote aye or no as to receiving the Articles of the Church of England. 'This meeting thus broke off,' Strafford concludes; 'there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free Synod, but in fine they could not agree amongst themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished.'

To cross the Deputy was no light matter, and Andrews' ill-timed assertion of the independence of the Church of Ireland had like to have cost him the favour as well of Laud as of Strafford. His visions of preferment must certainly have faded but for the support of Ussher, and of Bramhall, then Bishop of Derry and Laud's chief adviser among the Irish bishops, who wrote recommending Dean Andrews as fit to be a bishop and 'a grave cathedral man.'[1] Yielding to these influences, Strafford characteristically resolved to give the aspirant a kick upstairs. 'If your lordship thinks Dean Andrews hath been to blame,' he wrote to Laud, 'and that you would chastise him for it, make him Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, to have it without any other *commendam* than as the last bishop had it, and then I assure you he shall leave better behind him than will be recompensed out of that bishopric, which is one of the meanest of the whole Kingdom.'[2] Andrews accordingly received his promotion, and if we may judge by the Deputy's concluding reference to him all parties were satisfied. 'I conceive the Primate is well satisfied in Dean Andrews' translation to the bishopric of Ferns, and so is the man himself. Never any so well pleased, or so much desirous, I persuade myself, to take a rochet to loss as he. Had he not died a bishop he had been immemorial to posterity, where now he may be reckoned one of the worthies of his time. But the best jest is, now that he leaves the Deanery of Limerick, I find he hath let a lease very charitably to himself, contrary to the Act of State, which I will cause him to restore, and so make that deanery worth one [? over] three score pounds a year better than now it is, and furnish his lordship with an argument to move those to do the like to him that usurp the rights of the bishopric of Ferns. For he may truly say, "You see, gentlemen, my lord deputy spares none, he hath made even me myself, to restore a lease I held of the Deanery of Limerick, and if this be done to the green, what shall become of the dry?"'[1]

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[1] *Cal. Irish State Papers* (1633–47), p. 89.

[2] Strafford's *Letters*, i. p. 378, 18th March, 1634–5.

APPENDIX II

THE SUCCESSION OF THE VICARS OF ST. ANDREW'S, DUBLIN, FROM THE RESTORATION.

1665. Richard Lingard, Dean of Lismore.
1670. Anthony Dopping, Bp. Kildare 1679, Meath 1681.
1678. Michael Hewetson, Archdeacon of Armagh 1693.
1693. John Travers.
1727. Robt. Dougatt, Archdeacon of Dublin.
1730. Alexander Bradford.
1750. Isaac Mann, Bp. Cork 1772.
1757. William Browne.
1784. Hon. John Hewitt, Dean of Cloyne.
1794. James Verschoyle, Bp. Killala 1810.
1798. Hon. Rd. Bourke, Bp. Waterford 1813.
1800. Chas. Mongan Warburton, Bp. Limerick 1806, Cloyne 1820.
1806. William Bourne.
1862. Ven. Cadwallader Wolseley, Archdeacon of Glendalough.
1866. Wm. Marrable, D.D.
1900. Herbert Kennedy, B.D.

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[1] For a full account of the proceedings of Convocation in 1634 in reference to the adoption of the English canons see Elrington's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, pp. 165–88. See also Vesey's *Life of Archbishop Bramhall.*

VII

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CIVIC AND COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF DUBLIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

I. THE ORIGIN OF THE BALLAST OFFICE AND PORT AND DOCKS BOARD OF DUBLIN.

PROJECTS for the improvement of the harbour of Dublin and the better regulation of the shipping of the port appear to have been frequent in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The fear lest the audacity of the Dutch and the defenceless condition of the environs should expose the capital to attack had led, in 1673, to Sir Bernard de Gomme's well-known 'Survey of the city of Dublin and part of the harbour below Ringsend'; and although this survey was undertaken from purely military considerations, it naturally drew the attention of mercantile people to the deficiencies of the port from a commercial standpoint. The control of the port of Dublin was vested at this period in the citizens, by whom it had been exercised from the time of King John, when a royal charter had endowed the citizens[1] with one half of the water of the Liffey for fishing.[2] The Corporation does not appear to have paid close attention to that part of its responsibilities which concerned the harbour; but in the year following De Gomme's visit their attention was called to the matter by the visit of Andrew Yarranton, an expert on harbour improvement.[3] Yarranton,

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[1] 'Medietatem aque de Auenelith ad piscandum' is the language of the charter. *Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*, 1172–1320, p. 60.

[2] The Mayor of Dublin anciently exercised, as Admiral of the Port of Dublin, a jurisdiction which appears to have extended from Skerries to Arklow, and the city was entitled to the customs of all merchandise within those limits.—Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, pp. 139 and 246.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 242.

'acquainting the Lord Mayor with his thoughts as to the making a very good harbour at Ringsend,' was 'importuned to bestow some time in a survey and discovery thereof,' and devoted three weeks to this task But though the survey was made no steps were taken by the citizens, and the first effort towards providing a proper machinery for the control of the port was left to private enterprise. In 1676 one Thomas Howard petitioned the Irish Privy Council for a patent for the provision of a Ballast Office in all the ports of Ireland. Howard's proposal stirred the city fathers to activity. Protesting against the petition, so far as it related to Dublin, as an encroachment on their civic rights, they appointed a committee to consider the erection of a Ballast Office, 'the profits whereof is intended for the King's Hospital,' and prayed the Lord-Lieutenant that no patent should pass to Howard. The protest of the citizens was effective, and Howard, though he had obtained a patent in England for the erection of a Ballast Office in Ireland, was unsuccessful in his application. Accordingly his next move was to petition the city, in association with his brother, for a lease of the port of Dublin at fifty pounds a year, in return for which Howard undertook to surrender his English patent. A lease for thirty-one years was granted; but as the Howards took no step to perfect it, it was three years later declared void, and formal petition was made by the citizens for a patent to the city for a Ballast Office. The activity displayed on this as on the previous occasion was due to the exertion of a private individual who had taken up Howard's project.

In the year 1697 one Captain Davison had made a proposal to the city to erect on or near the bar of Dublin a Lighthouse[1] forty feet above water, which should be enclosed with a small fort of thirty guns capable of defending the harbour, and at the same time he proposed a Ballast Office 'by which ships should be supplied with ballast from such places only as should tend to the bettering the harbour.'

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[1] Memorial about the Light House at Dublin. Brit. Museum, Add. MS. 21136, folio 82. Printed in *Calendar of Dublin Records*, vi. p. 609.

In 1700, having obtained the approval of the Dublin merchants and captains of ships trading there, and being encouraged by the Irish Government, Davison proceeded to London, and petitioned William III. for authority to proceed with the work, and for a grant of the Lighthouse and Ballast Office. His petition was referred to the Irish Lords Justices, who reported that the design was useful and 'absolutely necessary for the preserving the trade of the place'; but stated that the 'city desired that the grant thereof might be made to them.' The Lords Justices accordingly recommended that, 'lest it should be thought a business of clamour to grant such a thing away from a whole city,' the grant should be made to Davison as the instrument of the citizens.

The matter was then referred to the Committee of the Privy Council for the affairs of Ireland, 'to investigate the claim of the several parties pretending to a right in the carrying on of this work,' several other persons having meantime sought a patent. The Committee found the claims of Davison infinitely superior to those of all private rivals. But the city of Dublin alleging 'several ancient charters by which they had title to the ground from whence the said ballast was proposed to be taken,' and having 'in the sitting of the last Parliament obtained a bill to be sent over for the establishment of a Ballast Office,' they recommended the claims of the citizens to her Majesty's favour in preference to those of any private persons. They at the same time expressed an opinion that, if the authority were given to the city of Dublin, Captain Davison should be employed on the work.

No action appears to have been taken upon this report, and in 1702 Davison renewed his application,[1] which was again opposed by the Dublin civic authorities as highly prejudicial to the city, and the project seems to have remained in abeyance for some years. In 1707, however, a petition under the city seal was ordered to be addressed to his Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, Queen

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[1] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, vi. p. 272.

Anne's Consort, then Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, for erecting a Ballast Office. This petition set forth that 'the port and river of Dublin are almost choked up, and are very unsafe by the irregular taking in and throwing out of ballast,' and besought favourable consideration for a fresh bill which had been sent over for erecting a Ballast Office, the petitioners being advised that without legislation no duty for the support of such office when erected could be imposed on shipping. The petition further averred that 'nothing can contribute more to the safety of the lives of seafaring men who resort hither than the mending of one of the most dangerous ports in her Majesty's dominions'; and in order to obviate the possibility of a grant to any private individual rather than to the city, it expressed the willingness of the assembly that all profits arising from the Ballast Office 'should be applied towards the maintenance of the poor boys in the Blue Coat Hospital in this city, whereby they are instructed in navigation to qualify them for her Majesty's sea service.'[1] In a letter from the Lord Mayor to Prince George, in furtherance of the city claim, it was also stated that the port was so unsafe that there was scarce depth of water left for a small vessel to ride, where some years before a man-of-war could safely anchor.[2]

These applications were not favourably entertained by the Admiralty, Prince George of Denmark being of opinion that the erecting of a Ballast Office by Act of Parliament was a direct infringement of the rights of his office of Lord High Admiral. He therefore expressed his intention of opposing the bill.[3] But his Royal Highness, 'having a particular regard to the cleansing of the port of Dublin,' was content 'if the Lord Mayor would make proper application to him and to him only,' to grant a lease of a Ballast Office to the city of Dublin for a term of years, provided that the surplus of the port dues should be applied to the benefit of the Blue

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[1] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, vi. pp. 374–5.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 616.

[3] Letter of Josiah Burchett, Secretary to the Admiralty. *Calendar of Dublin Records*, vi. p. 618.

Coat School in the manner already mentioned. The objections thus raised by the Admiralty were combated in a very vigorous letter addressed to Lord Sunderland, the Secretary of State, in which it was pointed out that the sand and soil whence the ballast was to be taken were the inheritance of the city of Dublin, which by several charters had the jurisdiction of the Admiralty granted to it. Notwithstanding this, the city, they added, would be willing to waive all such rights and take a lease from the Lord High Admiral, were it not that powers under an Act of Parliament were absolutely necessary, as a means of obviating the difficulty raised by Prince George, to enforce payment of harbour dues. In token of the readiness of the city to admit the claims of the Admiralty, an offer was made on the part of the Corporation to add to the bill a clause saving the Admiralty jurisdiction, by providing in the following quaint terms for the city's 'yielding and paying therefor and thereout to his Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, and to his successors, Lord High Admirals of the same, one hundred yards of best Holland duck, that shall be made or manufactured within the realm of Ireland, at the Admiralty Office of London on every first day of January for ever hereafter.'[1] The solution thus proposed was accepted by the Admiralty, and the heads of the bill having been approved in England, there was passed through the Irish Parliament in 1707 the Statute of the 6th Anne, chapter 20, entitled, 'An Act for Cleansing the Port, Harbour, and River of Dublin, and for erecting a Ballast Office in the said City.'[2]

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE DUBLIN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

In the account given by Sir John Gilbert in his 'History of Dublin' of the origin of the Royal Exchange (now the City Hall), mention is made of an association of merchants formed to resist the exactions of one Thomas Allen, who, having been appointed in the year 1763 to the office of Taster of Wines, endeavoured to enforce for his own advantage a fee of two shillings per tun on all wines and other liquors imported into Ireland. The struggle against this arbitrary tax did not, according to the authority quoted by Gilbert, last long; 'and turning their thoughts to the best mode of applying the redundant subscriptions raised to conduct the opposition,' the members unanimously adopted the idea of erecting a commodious building for the meeting of merchants and traders. A site having been fixed upon, the purchase-money, 13,000*l.*, was obtained from Parliament by the zeal and activity of Dr. Lucas, then one of the city representatives. The building so erected was the Royal Exchange, of which the foundation stone was laid in 1769. It was opened ten years later.[1] No record exists of the circumstances under which Dublin Chamber of Commerce was founded, and inquiries recently instituted regarding its origin show that, save in so far as they are contained in the 'Rough Minute-Book' of the Committee of Merchants, acquired by the Royal Irish Academy in 1902, those circumstances cannot now be traced. For although the Chamber of Commerce still possesses among its records the first minute-book of the Chamber, that volume throws no light upon the mode in which the Chamber of Commerce was first constituted. It is to the proceedings of the Committee of Merchants, by whom the building of the Exchange was promoted and conducted, that the 'Rough Minute-Book' relates; and the record shows that the committee not only performed for many years many of the functions now discharged by the Chamber of Commerce, but was the actual parent of that institution.[2]

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[1] *Calendar of Dublin Records*, vi. p. 621.

[2] A minute-book acquired in 1902 by the Royal Irish Academy contains the record of the steps first taken to put this Act in motion, and must form the materials for the first chapter in any history of the Ballast Office, or of its successor, the Port and Docks Board.

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[1] Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, ii. p. 56.

[2] The Minutes of the Chamber begin with an entry dated March 18, 1783, which records the calling of a meeting for March 22 ensuing to elect a President, two Vice-Presidents, and a Treasurer, and to determine on the duties of a Secretary. And the next entry duly announces the election of those officers, and the appointment of one William Shannon as Secretary at an annual salary of 30*l.* But of the circumstances leading up to these proceedings no trace remains. The 'Rough Minute-Book' of the Committee of Merchants not only unexpectedly supplies the lost details, but incidentally gives us a very interesting chapter in the history of the mercantile development of Dublin.

The minute-book opens with the record of a resolution 'that the ground for building an Exchange be conveyed to the Corporation of the Guild of Merchants, and the planning of the building and the carrying into execution of the Exchange conducted by a committee of certain citizens therein named, together with fifteen wholesale merchants, freemen of the Guild of Merchants to be chosen by the wholesale freemen of the Guild Merchants from among themselves.' The earlier entries in the book are concerned with the steps taken to raise funds for the erection of the Exchange, the money voted by Parliament being absorbed by the cost of the site. These funds were for the most part obtained by means of lotteries. On February 23, 1768, it was resolved 'that a scheme be grafted on the State Lottery now depending in England in order to raise a further sum towards the expense of erecting an Exchange on the reserved ground on Cork Hill, and that an advertisement for that purpose be published in due time in all the Dublin papers, except the Gazette.' The minute-book is crowded with entries, between the dates 1768 and 1778, relating to the progress of the building, including a resolution of February 24, 1769, for the payment of the bills 'for the expenses of entertaining the Lord-Lieutenant on the occasion of his laying the foundation stone, notwithstanding the Committee are of opinion they are exceedingly extravagant.' The bills amounted to 298*l*. 13*s*. 1½*d*.

But the Committee of Merchants were concerned with topics more serious than these. They busied themselves from the first in such matters as the procuring an amendment in the Irish Bankruptcy Laws, in movements for the direct importation of spirits from the British plantations without first landing them in Great Britain, and other questions directly affecting the commercial interests of Ireland. That they also took a lively interest in the mercantile development of their own city is evident from the space devoted in their records to such topics as the building of the new Custom House, and a proposal for erecting Law Courts in College Green. Both of these projects were opposed by the merchants on the ground that they tended to shift the commerce of Dublin from its old centre in the neighbourhood of Essex Quay. The latter scheme was especially obnoxious as tending 'to the erection of a bridge east of Essex Bridge'; and the former was formally condemned as 'extremely injurious to the interests of thousands of individuals, and highly prejudicial to the commerce of this city in general.'[1] It is interesting to note that the erection of the former Custom House had two generations earlier led to similar complaints. But the objections of the merchants were, of course, unavailing. The Commissioners of Revenue pointed out that the increase of building had been of late so rapid that the town, which formerly terminated to the west at Essex Bridge, was now divided by that structure into equal parts, east and west, that the eastern portion had no communication across the river save by ferries, and that as the city must naturally continue to develop in an easterly direction, they would be highly blamable in preventing such a communication in the future. The merchants, however, did not surrender without a struggle; they interviewed the Viceroy, petitioned Parliament, and invoked the aid of the merchants of London; and they voted gold snuff-boxes to two London merchants who had interested themselves in promoting opposition among the traders of the English capital. The result of their efforts was to retard the erection of the new Custom House for about ten years. But in 1781 the Commissioners of Revenue were at length empowered to build the Custom House on the site so much objected to, and although at a public meeting, summoned by the merchants under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, a further petition was ordered to be presented to the Viceroy by the members for the city, Mr. Clements and Sir Samuel Bradstreet, the protest was unavailing. The Custom House was built where it still stands, Carlisle (now O'Connell)

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[1] On Dec. 30, 1773, it was resolved:—'That the removal of the Custom House below Temple Lane slip will tend to draw the inhabitants of the city further down the river, and so furnish a pretext for building a bridge to the east of Essex Bridge, which would be still more injurious to private property, to trade, and to navigation than even the removal of the Custom House.'—*Extract from Minute-Book.*

Bridge became an immediate necessity, and the development of the city to the east and south-east at once proceeded apace.

It was probably a sense of the deficient authority of the Merchants' Committee, as revealed by the failure of their opposition to the Custom House scheme, which led to the institution of the more formal organisation of a Chamber of Commerce. The change may also have been hastened by an investigation into the conduct of the lotteries held by the Committee, which appears to have provoked some scandal, though no proofs of fraud were established. It is certain, at all events, that little more than a year later the Committee was convened to meet at the Royal Exchange on February 10, 1783, for the special purpose of taking into consideration a 'Plan for instituting a Chamber of Commerce in this city.' Resolutions affirming this plan were at once adopted, and the Committee of Merchants, after a useful and interesting existence of exactly fifteen years, merged in the Chamber of Commerce of Dublin.

Although it is not the province of this paper to further pursue the history of the Chamber of Commerce, it appears desirable, inasmuch as that history has never been written, to note the steps which were taken to provide the new association with a formal constitution pursuant to the resolution just chronicled. One month after the final meeting of the Committee of Merchants a ballot was held for the election of a Council of forty-one members.[1] One hundred and fifty-three persons appear to have voted, and Mr. Travers Hartley, long the most active member of the old Committee, who had been for many years a representative of Dublin in the College Green Parliament as a follower of Grattan, was returned at the head of the list. At a further meeting, held on March 22 for the election of officers, Mr. Hartley was elected President of the Chamber—a position which he appears to have held continuously down to 1788. In that year rules were drawn up for the annual election of officers of the Chamber, but no election under these rules is recorded in the minute-book, which is a blank from March 29, 1788, to 1805, except for a single entry in 1791. Whether or not the Chamber met during this long interval does not certainly appear; but from the fact that the first minute-book in the possession of the Chamber of Commerce is indexed as 'Old Chamber,' and that what is referred to as the 'second' Chamber began to sit in 1805, it may be assumed that the Chamber as originally started failed to meet for several years, and was, in fact, during a period of seventeen years a less efficient guardian of mercantile interests than the old Committee of Merchants which it had replaced had proved. The minute-book ends with 1807. No records exist of any meetings from that year until 1820, when the Chamber appears to have been reconstituted; and it is doubtful for how many years its proceedings were suspended. From 1820 the manuscript records have been preserved in perfect sequence. The printed reports of the Chamber date from 1821.

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[1] Minutes of Chamber of Commerce.

III. THE ALDERMEN OF SKINNER'S ALLEY.

There have lately been deposited in the National Museum of Ireland certain of the paraphernalia and other relics of an ancient Dublin association, which, after an existence of above two centuries, has practically ceased to exist. Long one of the most influential of political associations in the capital, the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley have of late years so passed out of sight as to have become almost unknown, even by name, to all but the old and grey among the citizens of Dublin. There is no occasion to lament the disappearance of a society which, whatever its uses in former ages, was latterly of no practical significance save as recalling a phase of political and religious fanaticism which has long become obsolete, or nearly so. But advantage may be taken of an incident which may be held to mark the practical demise of this venerable association to furnish in the form of an obituary notice some account of the origin and history of the 'Ancient and Loyal Society of Aldermen of Skinner's Alley.'

Though no formal history of the 'Ancient and Loyal

Society of Aldermen of Skinner's Alley' has ever been compiled, readers of Sir Jonah Barrington's well-known 'Personal Sketches of my Own Time' will recollect the chapter devoted to the Aldermen by that sprightly, if somewhat unveracious, chronicler of eighteenth century Ireland. Though there are some passages in Sir Jonah's account of the society, of which he was himself for many years a member, which are obviously not meant to be taken seriously, the explanation there given of the origin of the society is sufficiently accurate for quotation. It runs as follows: 'After William III. had mounted the English throne, and King James had assumed the reins of government in Ireland, the latter monarch annulled the then existing charter of the Dublin Corporation, dismissed all the aldermen who had espoused the revolutionary cause, and replaced them by others attached to himself. The deposed aldermen, however, had secreted some little articles of their paraphernalia, and privately assembled in an alehouse in Skinner's Alley, a very obscure part of the capital.[1] Here they continued to hold anti-Jacobite meetings; elected their own lord mayor and officers, and got a marble bust of King William, which they regarded as a sort of deity. These meetings were carried on till the battle of the Boyne put William in possession of Dublin, when King James's Aldermen were immediately cashiered, and the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley re-invested with their mace and other Aldermanic glories. To honour the memory of their restorer, therefore, a permanent association was formed, and invested with all the memorials of their former disgrace and latter reinstatement.'[2]

Although the Aldermen at no time in their history had any direct association with the more modern Orange Society, Barrington is not far wrong in describing them as in effect 'the first Orange Association ever formed.' They were organised on a basis exclusively Protestant, and their primary object was the promotion of the principles of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the perpetuation of the constitution in church and state as established at the accession of William III. Their animating principle cannot, indeed, be better indicated than by quoting the terms of the charter toast, as published in the rules and regulations of the society printed in 1871:

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[1] Skinner's Alley ran between Weaver's Square and the Coombe.

[2] Barrington's *Personal Sketches*, edited by Townsend Young, i. pp. 134–5.

'The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of the Great and Good King William III., who saved us from Popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass money, and wooden shoes, permitted all debtors to walk abroad on Sundays, and left us his best legacy, "The House of Hanover," which may God in His great mercy bless and preserve, so long as they will faithfully maintain and uphold the British Constitution, as established at the Revolution of Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-eight.' Barrington gives a version of this toast more grotesque in its terms, but not essentially different.[1]

At the time when Sir Jonah joined the Aldermen this society had existed for a full century, acquiring, as he states, considerable influence and importance. It continued to be recruited from the members of the old corporation and the Protestant freemen of the city of Dublin. But though thus Protestant and constitutional in their prejudices, the Aldermen were not devoid of national sympathies, nor uninfluenced by the ideals to which Grattan appealed. It is an odd, but striking illustration of the revolution of sentiment which a century has witnessed, that a society with such opinions as are embodied in the toast just quoted should have numbered amongst its members a patriotic demagogue so unimpeachably national as the celebrated Napper Tandy. Though Sir Jonah does not say so, it is probable that the opinions of the Aldermen in 1800 were identical with those of Speaker Foster, and other eminent members of the patriotic party in the Irish Parliament, who based their opposition to the Union exclusively on Protestant grounds.

Though most of the relics of this ancient society date from about the middle of the eighteenth century, the extant records of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, unfortunately, do not extend further back than the early years of the nineteenth.[1] The 'Rules and Regulations' already referred to appear, however, to embody the traditional procedure of the Aldermen at their meetings and festivals. Except that the chief official is described in the rules as 'His Excellency the Governor,' instead of the Lord Mayor, the official account of the society agrees in the main with Barrington's description. In addition to the governor, the officers comprised a deputy-governor, a lord high treasurer, a secretary, a sword-bearer, and a mace-bearer. Meetings were held on the 4th of each month, and on the 4th of November in each year the anniversary of the birthday of William III. was invariably celebrated by a banquet. At this feast the principal dish was one of sheep's trotters, in allusion, according to Barrington, to James II.'s inglorious flight after the Boyne.

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[1] *Personal Sketches*, i. p. 136.

While the general object and ideals of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley remained unchanged through the course of two centuries, the society appears to have assumed, in the latter half of its existence, political functions of a specific kind. In the printed rules the Aldermen are represented as composed of 'an unlimited number of members, being Protestant, who shall consent to be bound by the rules, obligations, and qualifications of the society, and who shall be registered parliamentary electors of the City of Dublin.' The last clause points to the function which ultimately gave to the Aldermen their chief importance. The society became in effect an electioneering organisation. Recruited in the main from the ranks of the freemen of the city, it became, under the franchise as it existed after the Reform Act of 1832, an important factor in all contested elections in the metropolis, and was a principal prop and pillar of Dublin Toryism in the now remote days when the members for the city, county, and university of Dublin were uniformly Conservative, and were toasted as 'the Dublin Six.'

The surviving records of the Aldermen consist for the most part of a parchment roll, containing the signatures of members admitted to the society from the year 1825, and a minute-book of proceedings, which commences in 1841. The form of these records, though comparatively modern, preserves the terms of the impressive exordium which it was customary for the governor to address to each new member before signing the roll, wherein the novice was admonished to declare his allegiance to 'our unequalled constitution in Church and State.' The roll contains a large number of names eminent in Dublin annals, and a few of still wider fame. Among them are those of Sir Edward Grogan and Sir William Gregory, sometime Conservative members for the City of Dublin. But its most remarkable curiosity, in view of subsequent events, quite comparable for the incongruity between the principles of the Aldermen and the subsequent opinions of the new member to the enrolment of Napper Tandy half a century earlier, is the signature which establishes the adhesion of Isaac Butt, the founder of the Home Rule movement, to the tenets of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley.

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[1] In Whitelaw and Walsh's *History of Dublin*, p. 1069, it is stated that a schism rent the society about the close of the eighteenth century, when one party kept the paraphernalia and the other the records. Hence, no doubt, the lack of any early minutes.

The minute-book covers the history of the Aldermen for a period of about a quarter of a century, commencing on November 4, 1841. This was a year of much political excitement in Dublin, and of serious moment to the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, as the successors of the ancient Protestant corporation. The Municipal Corporations Act, which had just passed, had transformed the city fathers from a close Protestant and Tory oligarchy to a body largely Liberal and Roman Catholic, and to the horror of these staunch upholders of the 'glorious, pious, and immortal memory,' Daniel O'Connell was placed in the Lord Mayor's chair. A glance at the minutes of the Aldermen's proceedings in the days immediately succeeding municipal reform brings home very vividly the immensity of the changes which have been wrought within a space of no more than sixty years in the domestic politics of Ireland. An example may be cited from them which, though not intrinsically more characteristic than several other illustrations which might be selected, has the piquancy which attaches to the associations of eminent and familiar figures.

The names of Sir William Gregory and Isaac Butt were mentioned a moment ago as among the signatories to the roll of Aldermen. Almost the earliest entries in this minute-book are concerned with the once celebrated Dublin election of 1842, at which the future Governor of Ceylon was returned for the city in the Tory interest, largely through the exertions of the future father of the Home Rule movement. Sir William Gregory, despite his unimpeachably Conservative antecedents, was, as his memoirs show, very much more of a Whig than a Tory in his natural proclivities. He has left in his 'Autobiography' an account of his uncomfortable sensations while submitting to the aggressively Protestant championship of some of the more outspoken of his supporters. By none of them was he more severely tried than by Butt, of whom he has left a reminiscence strangely at variance with the Irish leader's later career. 'Among the extreme partisans distinguished by the virulence of their language and uncompromising hostility to Roman Catholics as well as to their religion, were a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Tresham Gregg, and Professor Butt, of Trinity College. They were both admirable mob orators, and they got the steam up with a vengeance. . . . Butt was at that time the extreme of the extremes in all religious questions, the very type of ultra-domineering, narrow-minded Protestant Ascendancy.' That this is no great exaggeration of Butt's position and opinions at this time is sufficiently apparent from the terms of the following resolution, recorded in the minute-book as having been moved by him at an 'aggregate meeting' of the Protestant Freemen of Dublin, convened in support of Gregory's candidature by the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley:

'That fully satisfied with the Protestant and Constitutional principles of our respected friend, William Gregory, Esq., and satisfied that he will in Parliament pursue a bold and uncompromising spirit of Protestant principles in all their integrity, as well as preserve the Freemen of the City of Dublin in the exercise of their rights handed down to them for centuries by their forefathers, and assembled under the auspices of this ancient body, associated with so many recollections of the perils and fidelities of their ancestors, we unite, and with one heart and mind resolve to support him at the next election as a candidate worthy of a cause with which such recollections are associated.'

Gregory was duly elected on this occasion, but he was unable to live up to the expectations of his Protestant sponsors. At the general election of 1847 his Peelite proclivities and obvious lack of zeal on the religious question lost him the support of the 'Aldermen,' and he was defeated by the then well-known demagogue, John Reynolds. A resolution moved after the election at a meeting of the Aldermen sufficiently explains his rejection, and indicates the extraordinary tenacity with which, even as recently as 1847, the principles of the 'Protestant Revolution' were still cherished in Dublin: 'This ancient Society, the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, being an essentially Protestant Body pledged to maintain the principles of the British Constitution as settled in 1688, and, consequently, the ascendancy of Protestant truth and the extirpation of Popish error, the members being bound in conscience by their declaration of adherence to its Charter to carry out those principles as their judgment shall dictate, be it resolved that our late representative, William Gregory, Esq., having abandoned those principles of high Protestantism, for the expression of which he was supported by this Society, it was competent for any member of this body to oppose to the utmost the return of that gentleman.'

The successive extensions of the franchise, which first reduced and ultimately destroyed the once dominant influence of the Protestant Freemen of Dublin, struck a fatal blow at the prestige of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley. Since 1885 the society has waned to practical extinction, and though never formally dissolved it is most unlikely that it will ever be effectively revived. Not many citizens of Dublin would nowadays be found willing to avow the perfervid Protestantism of this ancient body, nor would the most convinced champions of Reformation doctrines now endeavour to justify them by an appeal to 'Revolution' principles. But though its *raison d'être* has long ceased to exist, the society has a distinct interest for the historian of the development of opinion in Ireland. And the sidelight which is thrown by the episode of Sir William Gregory's election upon the early career of Isaac Butt is of value as enabling us to understand the evolutionary process, which might otherwise appear incomprehensible, by which some of the most earnest of Irish Conservatives were led to embrace the notion of an Irish Parliament in Dublin as a protest against the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland by the British Parliament at Westminster.

No account of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley could be considered complete which omitted to refer to the Charter Song of the Society, which is accordingly appended. The authorship is commonly credited to Mr. Hardinge Giffard.

CHARTER SONG.

Tune—' Maggie Lauder.'

When Tyranny's detested power
  Had leagued with Superstition,
And bigot James, in evil hour,
  Began his luckless mission,
Still here survived the sacred flame;
  Here Freedom's Sons did rally,
And consecrate to deathless Fame
  The Men of Skinner's-alley.

When WILLIAM came to set them free
  From famine, fire, and slaughter,
And the first dawn of Liberty
  Had blushed on the Boyne Water—
Then did they fill to Glorious WILL,
  At such a toast who'd dally,
While Liberty and Loyalty
  Exist in Skinner's-alley.

And here, through each revolving day,
  The sacred flame was cherished,
Though lost in Faction's fearful fray,
  It once had nearly perished;
Until our Fathers' spirit rose,
  While knaves stood shilly-shally:
Then did we sing, God save the King,
  We Men of Skinner's-alley.

And oft may we repeat that toast,
  By festive draughts elated,
While loyalty, our proudest boast,
  On every heart is seated;
For ne'er can we forget the King,
  Round whom all virtues rally,
The memory of William III. shall ring
  Each night in Skinner's-alley.

IV. THE OUZEL GALLEY SOCIETY.

At the end of the seventeenth century, in the closing years of the reign of William III., a vessel known as the 'Ouzel,' in the ownership of a Dublin merchant, and engaged, it is believed, in the Smyrna trade, sailed from Ringsend for the Levant. Prior to her departure she had been insured against risks, with Dublin underwriters, in the usual way. In the ordinary course her absence would have been a lengthened one; but when, after a lapse of some years, nothing had been heard of her, she was assumed to have been lost at sea with all hands. The owners duly claimed their insurance-money, which was paid by the underwriters; the ship was deemed to have made her last voyage; and the commercial transactions in respect of her were regarded as finally closed. But it fell out that not very long afterwards, to the astonishment of all concerned, the 'Ouzel Galley' cast anchor in the port of Dublin. The captain had a strange tale to tell. Proceeding in her eastern course down the Mediterranean, the 'Ouzel' had fallen a victim to the Algerine corsairs, who in those days, and, indeed, for long after, were still the scourge of the mercantile marine. Being a large and well-found ship, she had been appropriated by her captors to their own uses. But by some fortunate chance the crew of the 'Ouzel' were enabled to turn the tables on their conquerors, to repossess themselves of their ship and its cargo, and to return in safety to the port from whence they had sailed.

So far all was for the best. But the return of the 'Ouzel,' unfortunately, proved the occasion of a knotty legal difficulty involving troublesome litigation, which in one form or another lasted for several years. The 'Ouzel' brought home in her hold not alone the peaceful merchandise which it was her mission to carry, but the piratical spoils of her sometime Algerine masters. This loot was of a value far exceeding that of the legitimate cargo, and immensely in excess of the amount for which the ship had been insured, and for which the owners had been compensated. A question at once arose as to the ownership of the plunder. Was the booty the property of the original owners under whose auspices it had been gained? Or did it pass to the underwriters in virtue of their completion of the contract of indemnity? The point was a nice one, which apparently had not then been settled, and the gentlemen of the law courts exerted their ingenuity in the endeavour to determine the destination of so rich a prize. No records of this litigation are now traceable; but it is reputed to have engaged the Courts for years without any result being reached; and the case was ultimately referred to the arbitration of a committee of merchants, through whom a compromise was effected, and the litigation terminated.

To celebrate this triumph of the elastic principle of arbitration over the unaccommodating and dilatory procedure of the Courts, the merchants of Dublin resolved to found a society which should have for its object the settlement of all commercial disputes without having recourse to the winding mazes of the law; and they gave to their association the name of the vessel which had been the means of bringing it into being. Accordingly, about the year 1705, the Ouzel Galley Society was founded.

The books of the proceedings of the society for the first half-century of its existence have long been irrecoverably lost, and only the more recent minute-books are now extant. But its rules and regulations, with a list of members, were printed in 1859, as collected from the books of proceedings which were then available. These rules and regulations include the report of a committee of the society appointed in 1799, 'to inquire into and prepare a declaration of the rules, orders, and customs of the Galley.' We are thus enabled to understand the precise objects of the society and the mode in which it was organised. From this it appears that it was the duty of all members of the Galley to sit as arbitrators in the settlement of such disputes as might be referred to them, 'provided all the arbitrators chosen are members of the Galley.' Parties were prohibited from making any personal applications to members respecting any matter in dispute, and all proceedings were regulated under the guidance of an officer known as the Registrar, to whom a sum of money, arranged according to a fixed scale, was payable by the parties seeking arbitration, 'to insure the payment of the Galley Fees,' which were appropriated, after payment of the costs of the award, to a charitable fund. Within the limits of the society parties were entitled to the choice of their arbitrators, but with the arbitrators when chosen lay the appointment of an umpire.

Such were the purposes for which the society was formally constituted; but it had, or grew to have, other functions, at once benevolent and convivial, which appear in time to have engrossed a large share of the attention of its members. From the year 1770 the subscription appears to have been a guinea; but on November 11, 1801, 'it appearing by the bursar's accounts that the subscription of one guinea per annum is insufficient to pay the annual dinners,' it was raised to a guinea and a half. Two years later, no doubt for the same reason, it was raised to 2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; and the frequent occurrence of the word 'dinner' in its rules may, perhaps, be held to account for the mourning accents with which surviving members long continued to speak of this ancient society. Most of the business of the society was transacted at or after dinner, except at the November meeting, which was held immediately before dinner. Certain it is, at all events, that while continuing to perform its more serious functions, the Ouzel Galley Society became highly popular among the merchants of Dublin as a convivial association. Its roll being limited to forty members, admission to it was highly prized. The list of its members for a period of a hundred and forty years contains, it is no exaggeration to say, representatives of all that is most honourable in mercantile

Dublin, and attests the high character the society continuously enjoyed. The names of La Touche, Guinness, Hone, Pim, Jameson, Hartley, Colvill, and others equally familiar constantly recur.

But the growing element of conviviality did not entirely divert the minds of the members from more serious objects. Like the Corporation and the public institutions of the Irish capital at the time, they were in full sympathy with Henry Grattan's assertion of the parliamentary liberties of Ireland. On April 16, 1782, the society unanimously resolved 'that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland are solely competent to make laws for the government thereof.'

The esteem in which the society was borne, and the hold it had on the affections of its members, were strengthened by the quaint and characteristic customs which its constitution ordained and its rules enforced. It was organised, in deference to its marine origin, on a nautical basis. The affairs of the Ouzel Galley were administered by a Council, of which the officers were:—'The captain, two lieutenants, master, bursar, boatswain, gunner, carpenter, master's mate, coxswain, boatswain's mate, and carpenter's mate'; and a peremptory regulation enacted that at the meetings of the Galley, of which three were held annually, 'the captain, or in his absence the senior officer on board, has supreme command, and any disobedience to him is mutiny.' The introduction of officers and new members was conducted 'according to the ancient and immemorial usage of the Galley,' part of the ceremony being, it is understood, the draining, at a single draught, of a bumper of claret from the society's glass cup, a beautiful example of Irish glass-work. Guests could only be introduced on the invitation of the 'captain, officers, and crew of the Ouzel Galley.' At each meeting members were bound, on pain of a fine, to wear a gold medal[1] pendant

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[1] The records of the society for Feb. 13, 1772, contain the following:

'Ordered, that the medal be made of gold. That on one side of the medal the "Ouzel Galley" be represented, and the motto "Steady." That on the reverse be represented the figure of "Equity," with the motto "cuique suum."' These medals appear to have been struck at different periods. That acquired by the Academy is believed to be from the design of Parks, a Dublin from an orange ribbon. Finally, the members were 'piped to dinner' with a boatswain's whistle; and the minutes for 1754 record that a silver whistle was ordered to be provided by the carpenter for the boatswain's use.[1]

That at these convivial meetings the charitable objects associated with them were by no means ignored appears from the regulation that the bursar should keep two accounts, one for the Subscription Fund and the other for the Charitable Fund; and from the fact that after such dinner it was customary to vote away in charity the earnings of the Galley. It is certain that the Society enjoyed throughout its existence a high reputation for practical benevolence. The meetings of the Ouzel Galley Society were held through-

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architect. Many citizens of Dublin are familiar with the large painting of a full-rigged ship which hangs over the door of the news-room in the Chamber of Commerce, with the legend, 'The Ouzel Galley,' beneath it. A similar representation of a full-rigged ship appears carved in stone above the exit door from the Commercial Buildings leading to the river. It seems right that in this notice of the society the pedigree of this painting should be preserved so far as it can be collected from the records of the society. The painting appears to have been presented to the society as far back as 1752 by Alderman John Macarrell, the then captain of the Galley. Whether it was a merely fancy picture, or an authentic representation of the actual ship from which the society took its name, cannot be stated, for nothing further is known of the date of the picture or of the artist. In the minutes of the meeting of the Galley held at Chapelizod in August 1753, a receipt is inserted, in which one John Morris acknowledges the receipt of 'a large painted piece representing the Ouzel Galley, which is put up in the great room in my house,' and admits the picture to be the property of the Galley. Morris was probably the owner of the inn or tavern in which the society was then in the habit of meeting. Nineteen years later, July 16, 1772, the minutes record the appointment of a committee 'to inquire after and recover the picture of the Galley presented to the society by Alderman Macarrell,' but the result of the inquiry is not given in any subsequent minute. It may be presumed, however, that the picture was recovered, and is identical with that which still hangs in the Chamber of Commerce, and is thus referred to in the entry for June 3, 1870: 'That the offer of the Chamber of Commerce to place the old painting of the Galley in a more conspicuous place be accepted.'

[1] The captain's oath, in 1754, was as follows:—'I, *A. B.*, do swear that I will be faithful to our Sovereign Lord King George the Second; and this galley, entrusted to my command, I will, to the best of my power, defend against all pirates either by sea and land; the rules and orders established on board I will see observed to the utmost of my power, and justice administered to the crew, and all who put any freight on board. I will continue to be a good fellow, and, as long as I can, hearty and merry.'

out the nineteenth century at the Commercial Buildings, and many still recall these gatherings which each November were held in the open square behind the Chamber of Commerce. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, and for many years subsequently, the dinners appear to have been held at Atwell's Tavern in Dame Street.[1]

From the foregoing account, it is easy to understand that a society of this kind must in time have outgrown the circumstances in which it originated. Though as a benevolent association it continued to serve a useful purpose, its functions as an institution for promoting arbitration gradually fell into desuetude, as legal procedure adapted itself more closely to the needs of the mercantile community. From a printed account of awards made in each year from 1799 to 1869, it appears that 364 awards, many of them dealing with matters of great magnitude, were made within that period. But of these nearly two-thirds were made in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1888, accordingly, the Ouzel Galley was voluntarily wound up and dissolved by an order of the Court of Chancery, which provided for the distribution of its funds, to the amount of 3,300*l.*, among charitable institutions connected with the city in which the Society had so long flourished.[2]

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[1] The meeting-places of the society, as recorded in their Transactions, throw interesting light on the taverns or eating-houses of Dublin and its environs, in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1748 the Galley met in the Phœnix Tavern, Werburgh Street; in 1751, at the Ship Tavern, Chapelizod; in 1765, at the Rose and Bottle, Dame Street; in 1770, at the Eagle Inn, Eustace Street; in 1776, at Power's, Booterstown; in 1796, at Harrington's, Grafton Street; and, in 1800, at Atwell's Commercial Tavern, Dame Street. In the early part of the nineteenth century the favourite resorts were Leech's Royal Hotel, Kildare Street; Morrison's, in Nassau Street; the Bilton, in Sackville Street; and Jude's Hotel, Commercial Buildings. A century ago Atwell's was apparently a favourite eating-house or tavern. In Andrew Carmichael's *Metropolis*, a topical poem, published in Dublin in 1805, occurs the line:

> 'Dip them at Atwell's in a bowl of soup.'

[2] Photographic reproductions of the glass bowl, medals, and silver whistle, referred to at pp. 206–7, have been published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. section C, in which this paper first appeared.

PART II

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF IRELAND

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1083 **Moryson** (Fynes) An Itinerary written first in the Latin Tongue and then translated into English: containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, England Scotland and Ireland. Divided into III. Parts. FIRST EDITION. With double leaved title as issued. *Small hole through second leaf of title and contemp. name on same, otherwise a* MAGNIFICENT COPY measuring 12¾ ins. Folio. Well bound in early 19th Century polished calf gilt, gilt panel design to sides with gilt line border, raised panels to back with gilt lines, red edges. *Printed by J. Beale,* 1617 £10/10/–

A beautiful copy of this important work. The second part is of great Irish interest, consisting of an account of the 'Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone and the appeasing thereof: written in forme of a Journall.' Moryson himself took a prominent part in the suppression of this rebellion being at that time secretary to Sir Charles Blount. This part was reprinted separately in 1735 under the title of *A History of Ireland for the Year* 1599 *to* 1603. It is the most important portion of the book. The whole work is, however, exceedingly well written and instructive so much so that Allibone remarks 'Let the collector of travels secure this folio by all means.'

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I

THE ITINERARY OF FYNES MORYSON

ALTHOUGH it is close upon three centuries since the first publication of the larger portion of the important work known as Fynes Moryson's 'Itinerary,' it is only quite recently that the full scope of Moryson's undertaking has been properly understood. The publication by Mr. Charles Hughes, as lately as 1903, in a work entitled 'Shakespeare's Europe,'[1] of the large section of the 'Itinerary,' which had so long remained in manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has for the first time rendered it possible to appreciate the full extent and value of Moryson's labours as a social historian of his own times. No single portion of Moryson's remarkable survey of the manners, customs, and institutions of the various countries and kingdoms of Europe at the opening of the seventeenth century is more valuable than the chapters devoted to Ireland. The 'Description of Ireland,' which forms the fifth chapter of the third book of Part III. of the original 'Itinerary,' is well known and has been more than once reprinted.[2] But the account of the 'Commonwealth of Ireland,' which forms the fifth chapter of the second book of the long unpublished fourth part and the chapter on Manners and Customs (Book V. chapter v.) were unknown until their publication by Mr. Hughes. Other references to Ireland in the 'Itinerary' besides those printed in this volume occur in the chapter which treats 'Of the Turks, French, English, Scottish, and Irish Apparel' (Part III. Book IV. chapter v.), and in that on 'The Journey through England, Scotland, and Ireland' (Part I. Book III. chapter v.). The latter contains many interesting sidelights on the conditions of travelling in the three kingdoms three hundred years ago. While the 'Description' will always remain valuable as a picture of Irish life and manners by a traveller whose large comparative knowledge of the Europe of his day gives a special importance to his observations, Moryson's notes on the Commonwealth have a unique interest for the light they throw on the political institutions of Ireland, as seen by one who had been actively engaged in Irish affairs, and had enjoyed peculiar opportunities of studying the administrative system of the Irish government at a very important crisis in Irish history. A like praise can hardly be accorded to the observations 'touching religion' in Ireland (Book III. chapter vi.). Moryson's views on this head are as acutely controversial and as inevitably uncharitable as might be expected; and it has not appeared expedient to print them here.

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[1] *Shakespeare's Europe.* Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*: being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the Sixteenth Century. With an Introduction and an Account of Fynes Moryson's Career. By Charles Hughes, B.A. (London). London: Sherratt & Hughes. 1903.

[2] The *Description* is included at the end of the second volume of the Dublin edition of Part II. of the *Itinerary*, printed in 1735 under the title of *A History of Ireland from* 1559 *to* 1603. It has also been included by Professor Henry Morley in his *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I.*, which forms vol. x. of the Carisbrooke Library Series.

No one can have had greater facilities than were possessed by Fynes Moryson for understanding the machinery of the Irish executive in all its parts as it existed at the close of Elizabeth's reign. For not only was he placed, as secretary to Mountjoy during the whole period of that Viceroy's active career in Ireland, in the closest possible contact with the central executive, but he had ample means of information regarding the local instruments of government in the provinces. His brother, Sir Richard Moryson, who came to Ireland in the army of Essex in 1599, held important appointments there for close on thirty years. From 1609 to 1628 Sir Richard held the considerable office of Vice-President of Munster, and he was visited at Cork by the historian in 1613. Thus the faculty of precise observation which gives so much value to Fynes Moryson's narrative, even where his notes represent no more than the rapid but acute deductions of a passing traveller, has, in the case of his account of Ireland, the enhanced interest which comes of the writer's intimate knowledge of the social and political state of the country.

Often as it has been printed, Fynes Moryson's 'Description of Ireland' is an indispensable introduction to any collection of contemporary works on seventeenth century Ireland, and as such it is once more printed here. The chapters on the Commonwealth and on manners and customs are reproduced because, although so recently published, the Irish sections of Part IV. of the 'Itinerary' are scattered at wide distances through Mr. Hughes's substantial volume;[1] and, forming only a relatively small portion of the whole, have scarcely attracted the attention they deserve.

The extracts from 'Shakespeare's Europe' are included in this volume with the cordially expressed assent of Mr. Charles Hughes, and of the owners of the copyright in that work, Messrs. Sherratt & Hughes, publishers, of Manchester and London. Some passages not printed by Mr. Hughes, which appear to throw useful light on the social condition of Ireland at the time when Moryson wrote, are now published for the first time by the kind permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

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[1] See *Shakespeare's Europe*, pp. 185–260, 285–9, and 481–6.

A

THE DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND

The longitude of Ireland extends four degrees, from the meridian of eleven degrees and a half to that of fifteen and a half, and the latitude extends also four degrees, from the parallel of fifty-four degrees to that of fifty-eight degrees. In the geographical description I will follow Cambden as formerly.[1]

This famous island in the Virginian sea is by old writers called Ierna, Inverna, and Iris, by the old inhabitants Erin, by the old Britains Yuerdhen, by the English at this day Ireland, and by the Irish Bards at this day Banno, in which sense of the Irish word, Avicen calls it the Holy Island; besides, Plutarch of old called it Ogygia, and after him Isidore named it Scotia.[2] This Ireland, according to the inhabitants, is divided into two parts, the wild Irish, and the English-Irish, living in the English pale. But of the old kingdoms, five in number, it is divided into five parts.

1. The first is by the Irish called Mowne, by the English Munster, and is subdivided into six counties—of Kerry, of Limerick, of Cork, of Tipperary, of the Holy Cross, and of Waterford—to which the seventh county of Desmond is now added. The Gangavi, a Scythian people, coming into Spain, and from thence into Ireland, inhabited the county of Kerry, full of woody mountains, in which the Earls of Desmond had the dignity of palatines, having their house in Trailes,[3] a little town now almost uninhabited. Not far thence lies

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[1] See Camden's *Britannia* (edition of 1722), vol. ii. p. 1334 *et seq.*

[2] On the ancient names of Ireland, see Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, ii. pp. 458–9.

[3] Tralee.

St. Mary Wic, vulgarly called Smerwick, where the Lord Arthur Gray, being Lord Deputy, happily overthrew the aiding troops sent to the Earl of Desmond from the Pope and the King of Spain. On the south side of Kerry lies the county of Desmond,[1] of old inhabited by three kinds of people, the Luceni (being Spaniards), the Velabri (so called of their seat upon the sea-waters or marshes), and the Iberni, called the upper Irish, inhabiting about Beer-haven and Baltimore, two havens well known by the plentiful fishing of herrings, and the late invasion of the Spaniards in the year 1601. Next to these is the county of MacCarty-More, of Irish race, whom, as enemy to the FitzGeralds, Queen Elizabeth made Earl of Glencar in the year 1566. For of the FitzGeralds, of the family of the Earls of Kildare, the Earls of Desmond descended, who, being by birth English, and created earls by King Edward III., became hateful rebels in our time. The third county hath the name of the City Cork, consisting almost all of one long street,[2] but well known and frequented, which is so compassed with rebellious neighbours, as they of old not daring to marry their daughters to them, the custom grew, and continues to this day, that by mutual marriages one with another all the citizens are of kin in some degree of affinity. Not far thence is Yoghal, having a safe haven, near which the Viscounts of Barry, of English race, are seated. In the fourth county of Tipperary nothing is memorable, but that it is a palatinate.[3] The little town Holy Cross, in the county of the same name, hath many great privileges. The sixth county hath the name of the City Limerick, the seat of a bishop, wherein is a strong castle built by King John. Not far thence is Awne,[4] the seat of a bishop, and the Lower Ossory, giving the title of an earl to the Butlers, and the town Thurles, giving them also the title of viscount. And there is Cassiles,[5] now a poor city, but the seat of an archbishop. The seventh county hath the name of the

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[1] *Vide* Part I. p. 132 *supra.*

[2] North and South Main Street.

[3] See Part I. p. 112 *supra.*

[4] Emly.

[5] Thurles and Cashel are both in Tipperary.

City Waterford, which the Irish call Porthlargi, of the commodious haven, a rich and well-inhabited city, esteemed the second to Dublin. And because the inhabitants long faithfully helped the English in subduing Ireland our kings gave them excessive privileges; but they, rashly failing in their obedience at King James's coming to the crown, could not in long time obtain the confirmation of their old Charter.[1]

2. Leinster, the second part of Ireland, is fertile, and yields plenty of corn, and hath a most temperate mild air, being divided into ten counties of Catherlough, Kilkenny, Wexford, Dublin, Kildare, the King's County, the Queen's County, the counties of Longford, of Ferns,[2] and of Wicklow. The Cariondi of old inhabited Catherlogh (or Carlow) County, and they also inhabited great part of Kilkenny, of Upper Ossory, and of Ormond, which have nothing memorable but the Earls of Ormond, of the great family of the Butlers, inferior to no earl in Ireland (not to speak of Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory). It is ridiculous which some Irish (who will be believed as men of credit) report of men in these parts yearly turned into wolves, except the abundance of melancholy humour transports them to imagine that they are so transformed.[3] Kilkenny giving name to the second county is a pleasant town, the chief of the towns within land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the husbandman's labour, and the pleasant orchards. I pass over the walled town Thomastown, and the ancient city Rheban, now a poor village with a castle, yet of old giving the title of baronet. I pass over the village and strong castle of Leighlin, with the country adjoining, usurped by the sept of the Cavanaghs, now surnamed O'Moors. Also I omit Ross,[4] of old a large city, at this day of no moment. The third

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[1] The charter of Waterford suspended by James I. was not renewed till 1626, when Charles I. gave the city a new charter.

[2] See Part I. p. 126 *supra*.

[3] See, as to this legend, Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, v. 104 (Rolls Series). See also the remarks on Irish Wolf-legends in Dr. Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, i. p. 299.

[4] Rheban is in Kildare, Leighlin in Carlow, and Ross in Wexford. But in Moryson's time there was considerable confusion as to the boundaries of all the south-eastern counties of Leinster. See Part I. p. 125 *supra*.

county of Wexford (called by the Irish County Reogh) was of old inhabited by the Menapii, where, at the town called Banna,[1] the English made their first descent into Ireland, and upon that coast are very dangerous flats in the sea, which they vulgarly call grounds. The City Weshford, Weisford, or Wexford, is the chief of the county, not great, but deserving praise for their faithfulness towards the English, and frequently inhabited by men of English race. The Cauci (a sea-bordering nation of Germany) and the Menapii aforesaid, of old inhabited the territories now possessed by the O'Moors and O'Birns; also they inhabited the fourth county of Kildare, a fruitful soil, having the chief town of the same name, greatly honoured in the infancy of the Church by St. Bridget. King Edward II. created the Giralds Earls of Kildare. The Eblani of old inhabited the territory of Dublin, the fifth county, having a fertile soil and rich pastures, but wanting wood, so as they burn turf, or sea-coal brought out of England. The City Dublin, called Divelin by the English, and Balacleigh[2] (as seated upon hurdles) by the Irish, is the chief city of the kingdom, and seat of justice, fairly built, frequently inhabited, and adorned with a strong castle, fifteen churches, an episcopal seat, and a fair college (an happy foundation of an university laid in our age), and endowed with many privileges, but the haven is barred and made less commodious by those hills of sands. The adjoining promontory, Hoth-head, gives the title of a baron to the family of St. Laurence; and towards the north lies Fingal, a little territory, as it were the garner of the kingdom, which is environed by the sea and great rivers, and this situation hath defended it from the incursion of rebels in former civil wars. I omit the King's and Queen's Counties (namely, Ophaly and Leax) inhabited by the O'Connors and O'Moors, as likewise the counties of Longford, Ferns, and Wicklow, as less affording memorable things.

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[1] Bannow.

[2] Divelin = Dubh-linn, or black pool. Balacleigh = Bally-Athcliath. See as to the etymology of Dublin, Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, p. 3 *et seq.*

3. The third part of Ireland is Midia or Media, called by the English Meath, in our fathers' memory divided into Eastmeath and Westmeath.[1] In Eastmeath is Drogheda, vulgarly called Tredagh, a fair and well-inhabited town. Trim is a little town upon the confines of Ulster, having a stately castle, but now much ruinated, and it is more notable for being the ancient (as it were) barony of the Lacies. Westmeath hath the town Delvin, giving the title of baron to the English family of the Nugents, and Westmeath is also inhabited by many great Irish septs, as the O'Maddens, the Magoghigans, O'Malaghlans, and MacCoghlans, which seem barbarous names. Shanon is a great river in a long course, making many and great lakes (as the large lake or Lough Regith [2]), and yields plentiful fishing, as do the frequent rivers and all the seas of Ireland. Upon this river lies the town Athlone, having a very fair bridge of stone (the work of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy [3]), and a strong fair castle.

4. Connaught is the fourth part of Ireland, a fruitful province, but having many bogs and thick woods, and it is divided into six counties, of Clare,[4] of Leitrim, of Galway, of Roscommon, of Mayo and of Sligo. The county of Clare or Thomond hath his Earls of Thomond, of the family of the O'Brenes, the old kings of Connaught, and Tuam is the seat of an archbishop; only part, but the greatest, of this county was called Clare, of Thomas Clare, Earl of Gloucester.[5] The adjoining territory, Clan Richard (the land of Richard's sons), hath his earls called Clanrickard of the land, but being of the English family de Burgo, vulgarly Burke, and both these earls were first created by Henry VIII. In the same territory is the Barony Atterith,[6] belonging to the barons of the English family Bermingham, of old very warlike, but their posterity have degenerated to

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[1] See Part I. p. 117 *supra*.

[2] Lough Ree.

[3] See Part I. p. 122 *supra*. And see *The Old Bridge at Athlone*, by the Rev. John S. Joly, Dublin, 1881.

[4] See Part I. p. 123 *supra*.

[5] This is a view of the origin of the name of the county which has been held by competent antiquaries. But see Dr. Joyce's etymological derivation, Part I. p. 135 *supra*.

[6] Athenry.

the Irish barbarism. The City Galway, giving name to the county, lying upon the sea, is frequently inhabited with civil people, and fairly built. The northern part of Connaught is inhabited by these Irish septs, O'Connor, O'Rourke, and MacDiermod. Upon the western coast lies the island Arran, famous for the fabulous long life of the inhabitants.

Ulster, the fifth part of Ireland, is a large province, woody, fenny, in some parts fertile, in other parts barren, but in all parts green and pleasant to behold, and exceedingly stored with cattle. The next part to the Pale and to England is divided into three counties—Lowth, Down, and Antrim; the rest contains seven counties—Monaghan, Tyrone, Armagh, Coleraine, Donnegal, Fermannagh, and Cavan. Lowth is inhabited by English-Irish (Down and Antrim being contained under the same name), and the barons thereof be of the Bermingham's family, and remain loving to the English. Monaghan was inhabited by the English family Fitzursi, and these are become degenerate and barbarous, and in the sense of that name are in the Irish tongue called MacMahon, that is the sons of Bears. I forbear to speak of Tyrone, and the earl thereof, infamous for his rebellion, which I have at large handled in this work. Armagh is the seat of an archbishop, and the metropolitan city of the whole island, but in time of the rebellion was altogether ruinated. The other counties have not many memorable things, therefore it shall suffice to speak of them briefly. The neck of land called Lecaile is a pleasant little territory, fertile, and abounding with fish and all things for food, and therein is Down, at this time a ruined town, but the seat of a bishop, and famous for the burial of St. Patrick, St. Bridget,[1] and St. Columb. The town of Carrickfergus is well known by the safe haven. The river Bann, running through the Lake Evagh[2] into the sea, is famous for the fishing of salmons, the water being most clear, wherein the salmons much delight. The great families (or septs) of Ulster are thus named: O'Neal, O'Donnel (whereof the chief was lately created

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[1] St. Bridget was buried at Kildare.

[2] Neagh.

Earl of Tirconnel), O'Buil, MacGwire, O'Kain, O'Dogherty, MacMahown, MacGennis, MacSurleigh, &c. The lake Erne compassed with thick woods hath such plenty of fish as the fishermen fear the breaking of their nets rather than want of fish. Towards the north, in the midst of vast woods (and as I think) in the county Donnegal is a lake, and therein an island, in which is a cave, famous for the apparition of spirits, which the inhabitants call *Ellanvi frugadory*—that is, the island of Purgatory—and they call it St. Patrick's Purgatory, fabling that he obtained of God by prayer that the Irish seeing the pains of the damned might more carefully avoid sin.[1]

The situation.—The land of Ireland is uneven, mountainous, soft, watery, woody, and open to winds and floods of rain, and so fenny as it hath bogs on the very tops of mountains, not bearing man or beast, but dangerous to pass, and such bogs are frequent over all Ireland. Our mariners observe the sailing into Ireland to be more dangerous, not only because many tides meeting makes the sea apt to swell upon any storm, but especially because they ever find the coast of Ireland covered with mists, whereas the coast of England is commonly clear and to be seen far off. The air of Ireland is unapt to ripen seeds, yet (as Mela witnesseth) the earth is luxurious in yielding fair and sweet herbs. Ireland is little troubled with thunders, lightnings, or earthquakes, yet (I know not upon what presage) in the year 1601, and in the month of November almost ended, at the siege of Kinsale and a few days before the famous battle, in which the rebels were happily overthrown, we did nightly hear and see great thunderings and lightnings, not without some astonishment what they should presage. The fields are not only most apt to feed cattle, but yield also great increase of corn. I will freely say that I observed the winter's cold to be far more mild than it is in England, so as the Irish pastures are more green, and so likewise the gardens all winter time, but that in summer, by reason of the cloudy air and watery soil, the heat of the sun hath not such power to ripen corn and fruits, so as their harvest is much later than in England. Also I observed that the best sorts of flowers and fruits are much rarer in Ireland than in England, which notwithstanding is more to be attributed to the inhabitants than to the air. For Ireland being oft troubled with rebellions, and the rebels not only being idle themselves, but in natural malice destroying the labours of other men, and cutting up the very trees of fruit for the same cause, or else to burn them: for these reasons the inhabitants take less pleasure to till their grounds or plant trees, content to live for the day in continual fear of like mischief. Yet is not Ireland altogether destitute of these flowers and fruits, wherewith the county of Kilkenny seems to abound more than any other part: and the said humidity of air and land making the fruits for food more raw and moist; hereupon the inhabitants and strangers are troubled with looseness of body, the country disease. Yet for the rawness they have an excellent remedy by their Aqua Vitæ, vulgarly called Usquebagh, which binds the belly, and drieth up moisture more than our Aqua Vitæ, yet inflameth not so much. Also inhabitants as well as strangers are troubled there with an ague which they call the Irish ague, and they who are sick thereof, upon a received custom, do not use the help of the physician, but give themselves to the keeping of Irish women, who starve the ague, giving the sick man no meat, who takes nothing but milk and some vulgarly known remedies at their hand.

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[1] For a very full account of St. Patrick's Purgatory, in Lough Derg, co. Donegal, long celebrated as a place of pilgrimage, see an elaborate article by W. Pinkerton in the *Ulster Archæological Journal*, vols. iv. and v. The chapel on the island was demolished in 1632, and again in 1680, the popularity of the pilgrimage having been revived after 1641. See also Ware's *Antiquities*, which contains a plate showing the 'Purgatory' prior to its demolition. And see the *Lismore Papers*, 1st Ser. iii, p. 159.

The fertility and traffic.—Ireland, after much blood spilt in the civil wars, became less populous, and as well great lords of countries as other inferior gentlemen laboured more to get new possessions for inheritance, than by husbandry and peopling of their old lands to increase their revenues; so as I then observed much grass (wherewith the island so much abounds) to have perished without use, and either to have rotted, or in the next spring time to be burnt, lest it should hinder the coming of new grass; this plenty of grass makes the Irish have infinite multitudes of cattle, and in the heat of the last rebellion the very vagabond rebels had great multitudes of cows, which they still (like the nomades) drove with them whithersoever themselves were driven, and fought for them as for their altars and families. By this abundance of cattle the Irish have a frequent though somewhat poor traffic for their hides, the cattle being in general very little, and only the men and the greyhounds of great stature. Neither can the cattle possibly be great since they eat only by day, and then are brought at evening within the bawns of castles,[1] where they stand or lie all night in a dirty yard without so much as a lock of hay, whereof they make little for sluggishness, and their little they altogether keep for their horses; and they are brought in by nights for fear of thieves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft, or else for fear of wolves, the destruction whereof being neglected by the inhabitants, oppressed with greater mischiefs, they are so much grown in number as sometimes in winter nights they will come to prey in villages and the suburbs of the cities.[2] The Earl of Ormond in Munster, and the Earl of Kildare in Leinster, had each of them a small park inclosed for fallow deer, and I have not seen any other park in Ireland, nor have heard that they had any other at that time, yet in many woods they have many red deer loosely scattered,[3] which seem more plentiful, because the inhabitants used not then to hunt them, but only the governors and commanders had them sometimes killed with the piece. They have also about Ophalia and Wexford, and in some parts of Munster, some fallow deer scattered in the woods; yet in the time of the war I did never see any venison served at the table, but only in the houses of the said earls and of the English commanders. Ireland hath great plenty of birds and fowls, but by reason of their natural sloth they had little delight or skill in birding or fowling. But Ireland hath neither singing nightingale nor chattering pie,[1] nor undermining mole, nor black crow, but only crows of mingled colour such as we call Royston crows. They have such plenty of pheasants as I have known sixty served at one feast, and abound much more with rails, but partridges are somewhat rare. There be very many eagles, and great plenty of hares, conies, hawks, called goss-hawks, much esteemed with us, and also of bees, as well in hives at home as in hollow trees abroad and in caves of the earth. They abound in flocks of sheep which they shear twice in the year, but their wool is coarse, and merchants may not export it, forbidden by a law made on behalf of the poor,[2] that they may be nourished by working it into cloth, namely rugs (whereof the best are made at Waterford), and mantles are generally worn by men and women and exported in great quantity. Ireland yields much flax, which the inhabitants work into yarn, and export the same in great quantity; and of old they had such plenty of linen cloth as the old Irish used to wear thirty or forty ells in a shirt all gathered and wrinkled, and washed in saffron because they never put them off till they were worn out. Their horses, called hobbies, are much commended for their ambling pace and beauty; but Ireland yields few horses good for service in war, and the said hobbies are much inferior to our geldings in strength to endure long journeys, and being bred in the fenny, soft ground of Ireland are soon lamed when they are brought into England. The hawks of Ireland, called goss-hawks, are (as I said) much esteemed in England, and they are sought out by money and all means to be transported thither.[1] Ireland yields excellent marble near Dublin, Kilkenny, and Cork; and I am of their opinion who dare venture all they are worth that the mountains would yield abundance of metals if this public good were not hindered by the inhabitants' barbarousness, making them apt to seditions, and so unwilling to enrich their prince and country, and by their slothfulness, which is so singular as they hold it baseness to labour, and by their poverty not able to bear the charge of such works; besides that the wiser sort think their poverty best for the public good, making them peaceable, as nothing makes them sooner kick against authority than riches. Ireland hath in all parts pleasant rivers, safe and long havens, and no less frequent lakes of great circuit, yielding great plenty of fish; and the sea on all sides yields like plenty of excellent fish, as salmon, oysters (which are preferred before the English), and shell-fishes, with all other kinds of sea-fish, so as the Irish might in all parts have abundance of excellent sea and fresh-water fish, if the fishermen were not so possessed with the natural fault of slothfulness, as no hope of gain, scarcely the fear of authority, can in many places make them come out of their houses and put to sea. Hence it is that in many places they use Scots for fishermen, and they, together with the English, make profit of the inhabitants' sluggishness; and no doubt if the Irish were industrious in fishing, they might export salted and dried fish with great gain. In time of peace the Irish transport good quantity of corn; yet they may not transport it without license, lest upon any sudden rebellion the King's forces and his good subjects should want corn. Ulster and the western parts of Munster yield vast woods,[2] in which the rebels, cutting up trees and casting them on heaps, used to stop the passages, and therein, as also upon fenny and boggy places, to fight with the English. But I confess myself to have been deceived in the common fame that all Ireland is woody, having found in my long journey from Armagh to Kinsale few or no woods by the way, excepting the great woods of Ophalia and some low shrubby places which they call Glins; also I did observe many boggy and fenny places whereof great part might be dried by good and painful husbandry. I may not omit the opinion commonly received that the earth of Ireland will not suffer a snake or venomous beast to live, and that the Irish wood transported for building is free of spiders and their webs;[1] myself have seen some (but very few) spiders, which the inhabitants deny to have any poison, but I have heard some English of good credit affirm by experience the contrary. The Irish having in most parts great woods, or low shrubs and thickets, do use the same for fire, but in other parts they burn turf and sea-coals brought out of England. They export great quantity of wood to make barrels, called pipe-staves, and make great gain thereby. They are not permitted to build great ships of war, but they have small ships, in some sorts armed to resist pirates, for transporting of commodities into Spain and France, yet no great number of them; therefore since the Irish have small skill in navigation, as I cannot praise them for this art, so I am confident that the nation, being bold and warlike, would no doubt prove brave seamen if they shall practise navigation, and could possibly be industrious therein. I freely profess that Ireland in general would yield abundance of all things to civil and industrious inhabitants; and when it lay wasted by the late rebellion, I did see it after the coming of the Lord Mountjoy daily more and more to flourish, and, in short time after the rebellion appeased, like the new spring to put on the wonted beauty.

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[1] For a very instructive account of the bawns surrounding the dwellings of Irish planters in the seventeenth century see 'Notes on Bawns' in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vi. p. 125.

[2] As to wolves in Ireland see O'Flaherty's *West or H-Iar Connaught*, ed. Hardiman, note D, p. 180, where a declaration concerning wolves is printed, with other documents of the Cromwellian period, which shows the extent to which wolves had multiplied during the desolation of the Civil War, and the measures taken to exterminate them. See also *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, ii. p. 281.

[3] Red deer were known in a wild state in the west of Ireland down to the middle of the nineteenth century. See Knight's *Erris in the Irish Highlands*. They still survive in Kerry and Donegal. As to their numbers in the same district in the eighteenth century, see Pocock's *Tour in Ireland in* 1752, ed. Stokes, p. 86.

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[1] 'No Pies to pluck the thatch from House
Are bred in Irish ground.'—Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, p. 43.

[2] See the statutes 11 Eliz. cap. 10, and 13 Eliz. cap. 4.

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[1] For information as to hawking in Ireland see a paper by J. P. Prendergast on 'Hawks and Hounds in Ireland,' *Journal of Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, ii. p. 144.

[2] See Part I. p. 143 *et seq.*, *supra.*

The diet.—Touching the Irish diet, some lords and knights, and gentlemen of the English-Irish, and all the English there abiding, having competent means, use the English diet, but some more, some less cleanly, few or none curiously, and no doubt they have as great, and for their part greater, plenty than the English, of flesh, fowl, fish, and all things for food, if they will use like art of cookery. Always I except the fruits, venison, and some dainties proper to England, and rare in Ireland. And we must conceive that venison and fowl seem to be more plentiful in Ireland, because they neither so generally affect dainty food, nor so diligently search it as the English do.[1] Many of the English-Irish have by little and little been infected with the Irish filthiness, and that in the very cities, excepting Dublin, and some of the better sort in Waterford, where the English, continually lodging in their houses, they more retain the English diet. The English-Irish after our manner serve to the table joints of flesh cut after our fashion, with geese, pullets, pigs, and like roasted meats, but their ordinary food for the common sort is of white meats, and they eat cakes of oats for bread, and drink not English beer made of malt and hops, but ale. At Cork I have seen with these eyes young maids, stark naked, grinding of corn with certain stones to make cakes thereof, and striking off into the tub of meal such reliques thereof as stuck on their belly, thighs, and more unseemly parts. And for the cheese or butter commonly made by the English-Irish an Englishman would not touch it with his lips, though he were half-starved; yet many English inhabitants make very good of both kinds. In cities they have such bread as ours, but of a sharp savour, and some mingled with anice-seeds and baked like cakes, and that only in the houses of the better sort.

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[1] See Part I. p. 143 *supra*.

At Dublin and in some other cities they have taverns,[2] wherein Spanish and French wines are sold, but more commonly the merchants sell them by pints and quarts in their own cellars. The Irish aqua vitæ,[3] commonly called usquebagh, is held the best in the world of that kind, which is made also in England, but nothing so good as that which is brought out of Ireland. And the usquebagh is preferred before our aqua vitæ, because the mingling of raisins, fennel-seed, and other things mitigating the heat, and making the taste pleasant, makes it less inflame, and yet refresh the weak stomach with moderate heat and a good relish. These drinks the English-Irish drink largely, and in many families (especially at feasts) both men and women use excess therein. And since I have in part seen, and often heard from other experience, that some gentlewomen are so free in this excess, as they would kneeling upon the knee and otherwise garausse health after health with men; not to speak of the wives of Irish lords or to refer it to the due place, who often drink till they be drunken, or, at least, till they void urine in full assemblies of men. I cannot (though unwillingly) but note the Irish women more especially with this fault, which I have observed in no other part to be a woman's vice, but only in Bohemia. Yet so, as accusing them, I mean not to excuse the men, and will also confess that I have seen virgins, as well gentlewomen as citizens, commanded by their mothers to retire after they had in curtesy pledged one or two healths. In cities passengers may have feather beds, soft and good, but most commonly lousy, especially in the highways, whether that came by their being forced to lodge common soldiers or from the nasty filthiness of the nation in general. For even in the best city and at Cork I have observed that my own and other Englishmen's chambers hired of the citizens were scarce swept once in the week,

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[1] See Gernon's *Discourse*, p. 361, *infra*.

[2] For a very full notice of Dublin taverns see Barnaby Rich's *New Description of Ireland*, chapter xvii., published in 1610.

[3] Notices of the drinking of usquebagh or whisky are frequent in sixteenth and seventeenth century references to Irish social habits. The statute 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, chapter vii., was passed to restrain its indiscriminate manufacture. Among earlier references Stanihurst speaks, in his *Plain and Perfect Description*

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of Ireland, of the excellence of Waterford whisky: 'as they distil the best Aqua Vitæ, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland' (p. 24). Campion, writing in 1571, also refers to the consumption of the same drink. The earliest extant reference to the national beverage appears to belong to the year 1405, and illustrates with admirable point and brevity the use and abuse of strong liquors. In that year 'Richard MacRaghnaill, heir to the chieftaincy of Munter-Eolais, *quievit* after drinking *uisce-betha* (usquebagh, literally water of life); and it was *uisce-marbtha* (literally water of killing) to Richard.' *Annals of Loch Cé*, ii. p. 103, Hennessy's translation. See on this subject the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vii. p. 33.

and the dust then laid in a corner was perhaps cast out once in a month or two. I did never see any public inns with signs hanged out among the English or English-Irish, but the officers of cities and villages appoint lodgings to the passengers, and perhaps in each city they shall find one or two houses where they will dress meat, and these be commonly houses of Englishmen, seldom of the Irish, so as these houses having no signs hung out a passenger cannot challenge right to be entertained in them, but must have it of courtesy, or by entreaty.

The wild and (as I may say) mere Irish, inhabiting many and large provinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They scum the seething pot with a handful of straw, and strain their milk taken from the cow through a like handful of straw, none of the cleanest, and so cleanse, or rather more defile, the pot and milk. They devour great morsels of beef unsalted, and they eat commonly swine's flesh, seldom mutton; and all these pieces of flesh, as also the entrails of beasts unwashed, they seethe in a hollow tree lapped in a raw cow's hide and so set over the fire, and therewith swallow whole lumps of filthy butter. Yea (which is more contrary to nature), they will feed on horses dying of themselves, not only upon small want of flesh, but even for pleasure. For I remember an accident in the army when the Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, riding to take the air out of the camp, found the buttocks of dead horses cut off, and suspecting that some soldiers had eaten that flesh out of necessity, being defrauded of the victuals allowed them, commanded the men to be searched out, among whom a common soldier, and that of the English-Irish, not of the mere Irish, being brought to the Lord Deputy, and asked why he had eaten the flesh of dead horses, thus freely answered, 'Your lordship may please to eat pheasant and partridge, and much good do it you, that best likes your taste; and I hope it is lawful for me without offence to eat this flesh that likes me better than beef.' Whereupon the Lord Deputy, perceiving himself to be deceived, and further understanding that he had received his ordinary victuals (the detaining whereof he suspected, and purposed to punish for example), gave the soldier a piece of gold to drink in usquebagh for better digestion, and so dismissed him.

The foresaid wild Irish do not thresh their oats, but burn them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldom eat this bread, much less any better kind, especially in the time of war, whereof a Bohemian baron complained, who, having seen the courts of England and Scotland, would needs out of his curiosity return through Ireland in the heat of the rebellion; and having letters from the King of Scots to the Irish lords then in rebellion, first landed among them in the furthest north, where for eight days' space he had found no bread, not so much as a cake of oats, till he came to eat with the Earl of Tyrone, and after obtaining the Lord Deputy's pass to come into our army, related this their want of bread to us for a miracle, who nothing wondered thereat. Yea, the wild Irish in time of greatest peace impute covetousness and base birth to him that hath any corn after Christmas, as it were a point of nobility to consume all within those festival days. They willingly eat the herb shamrock, being of a sharp taste, which, as they run and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches.

Neither have they any beer made of malt and hops, nor yet any ale—no, not the chief lords, except it be very rarely; but they drink milk like nectar, warmed with a stone first cast into the fire, or else beef-broth mingled with milk. But when they come to any market town to sell a cow or a horse they never return home till they have drunk the price in Spanish wine (which they call the King of Spain's daughter), or in Irish usquebagh, and till they have outslept two or three days' drunkenness. And not only the common sort, but even the lords and their wives; the more they want this drink at home, the more they swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunk as beggars.

Many of these wild Irish eat no flesh, but that which dies of disease or otherwise of itself, neither can it scape them for stinking. They desire no broth, nor have any use of a spoon. They can neither seethe artichokes nor eat them when they are sodden. It is strange and ridiculous, but most true, that some of our carriage horses falling into their hands, when they found soap and starch carried for the use of our laundresses, they thinking them to be some dainty meats did eat them greedily, and when they stuck in their teeth cursed bitterly the gluttony of us English churls, for so they term us. They feed most on white meats, and esteem for a great dainty sour curds, vulgarly called by them Bonaclabbe.[1] And for this cause they watchfully keep their cows, and fight for them as for their religion and life; and when they are almost starved, yet they will not kill a cow, except it be old and yield no milk. Yet will they upon hunger in time of war open a vein of the cow and drink the blood, but in no case kill or much weaken it. A man would think these men to be Scythians, who let their horses blood under the ears, and for nourishment drink their blood, and, indeed (as I have formerly said) some of the Irish are of the race of Scythians, coming into Spain, and from thence into Ireland. The wild Irish (as I said) seldom kill a cow to eat, and if perhaps they kill one for that purpose, they distribute it all to be devoured at one time; for they approve not the orderly eating at meals, but so they may eat enough when they are hungry they care not to fast long. And I have known some of these Irish footmen serving in England (where they are nothing less than sparing in the food of their families) to lay meat aside for many meals to devour it all at one time.

These wild Irish, as soon as their cows have calved, take the calves from them, and thereof feed some with milk to rear for breed; some of the rest they slay, and seethe them in a filthy poke, and so eat them, being nothing but froth, and send them for a present one to another. But the greatest part of these calves they cast out to be eaten by crows and wolves, that themselves may have more abundance of milk.

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[1] Bonnyclabber, a kind of buttermilk, or curds. See *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, v. p. 25, and *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, ii. p. 283 and v. p. 349. See also Dinely's *Tour*, p. 29.

And the calves being taken away, the cows are so mad among them, as they will give no milk till the skin of the calf be stuffed and set before them, that they may smell the odour of their own bellies. Yea, when these cows thus madly deny their milk the women wash their hands in cows' dung, and so gently stroke their dugs, yea, put their hands into the cow's tail, and with their mouths blow into their tails, that with this manner (as it were) of enchantment they may draw milk from them. Yea, these cows seem as rebellious to their owners as the people are to their kings, for many times they will not be milked, but of some one old woman only, and of no other.

These wild Irish never set any candles upon tables. What do I speak of tables? since, indeed, they have no tables, but set their meat upon a bundle of grass, and use the same grass for napkins to wipe their hands. But I mean that they do not set candles upon any high place to give light to the house, but place a great candle made of reeds and butter upon the floor in the midst of a great room; and in like sort the chief men in their houses make fires in the midst of the room, the smoke whereof goeth out at a hole in the top thereof. An Italian friar coming of old into Ireland, and seeing at Armagh this their diet and nakedness of the women is said to have cried out:

Civitas Armachana, civitas vana,
Carnes crudæ, mulieres nudæ.

Vain Armagh City, I did thee pity,
Thy meat's rawness, and women's nakedness.

I trust no man expects among these gallants any beds, much less feather beds and sheets, who like the nomads removing their dwellings, according to the commodity of pastures for their cows, sleep under the canopy of heaven, or in a poor house of clay, or in a cabin made of the boughs of trees, and covered with turf, for such are the dwellings of the very lords among them. And in such places they make a fire in the midst of the room, and round about it they sleep upon the ground, without straw or other thing under them, lying all in a circle about the fire with their feet towards it. And their bodies being naked, they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantles, which they first make very wet, steeping them in water of purpose, for they find that when their bodies have once warmed the wet mantles the smoke of them keeps their bodies in temperate heat all the night following. And this manner of lodging, not only the mere Irish lords and their followers use, but even some of the English-Irish lords and their followers, when, after the old but tyrannical and prohibited manner, vulgarly called coshering,[1] they go (as it were) on progress, to live upon their tenants, till they have consumed all the victuals that the poor men have or can get. To conclude, not only in lodging passengers not at all or most rudely, but even in their inhospitality towards them, these wild Irish are not much unlike to wild beasts, in whose caves a beast passing that way might perhaps find meat, but not without danger to be ill entertained, perhaps devoured of his insatiable host.

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[1] Ware defines coshering thus, 'Coshery exactio erat Dynastae Hibernici, quando ab incolis sub ejus potestate et clientela victum et hospitium capiebat, pro seipso suaque sequela.'—*Antiquities*, chapter xiii. Davies, in his *Discovery*, says, 'Cosherings . . . were visitations and progresses made by the lord and his followers among his tenants.'

B

THE COMMONWEALTH OF IRELAND

OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF IRELAND ACCORDING TO ALL THE PARTICULAR SUBJECTS MENTIONED IN THE TITLE OF THE FIRST CHAPTER AND FIRST BOOK OF THIS PART.[1]

Now briefly I will write of the Irish Commonwealth, wherein it shall suffice with a finger to point at the fountains of past mischiefs.

The Lord Deputy and Council.

It is governed by a Lord Deputy and Council of State resident at Dublin, and the Councillors are made by the King's letters, and continue in that place during their life, yet at the King's pleasure to recall or remove them, whereof notwithstanding we have few or none examples, and at the end of the war they were not many, only consisting of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord High Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls, the Marshal of Ireland, the Master of the Ordinance, the Treasurer at Wars, the Bishop of Meath, the Secretary and some few chief colonels of the army, but since that time there have been two Secretaries of State, and the number hath been much increased by the Lord Chief Baron and many other gentlemen both of the army and otherwise. Besides that, the Lords Presidents of provinces are always understood to be of this Council when they come to Dublin or any place where the Lord Deputy resides. As for the Lord Deputy, he is made by the King's letters patent during pleasure, and commonly hath continued some three years, but sometimes fewer or many more years, at the King's pleasure. Sometimes he hath the title of Lord-Lieutenant for greater honour, as the Earl of Essex lately had, and sometimes for diminution is styled Lord Justice, as more specially when, upon the death of the Lord Deputy, one or more Lords Justices are chosen to govern till a new Deputy be appointed. Yet of old when our kings were styled Lord of Ireland, this chief governor under them was commonly styled Lord Justice.[1] But howsoever the titles differ, the power is all one. Sometimes of old, kings' brothers and sons (as John, son to Henry II., and Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son to Edward III., and George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.) have governed this kingdom with title of Lord-Lieutenant, and with power to leave their own Deputy to govern it when at any time themselves returned into England, which Deputy gave them at the Court an account of the Irish affairs, where they gave the like account thereof to the King and his Council of State. In our time Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, for his great deserts in subduing Tyrone's rebellion, was by our sovereign King James created Earl of Devonshire, and besides rich rewards of inheritance in England was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with two parts of the Lord Deputy's entertainment, who had the other third part with his own commands in the army and kingdom, and gave like account of the Irish affairs to this noble Earl living at Court, only he was not the Earl's, but the King's Deputy. And this Earl during his life not only swayed all Irish suits at the Court, but all other chief affairs in Ireland, his letters of direction being as commands to the Deputy. But after his death the entertainment and full power returned to the Lord Deputy, the command of Lord-Lieutenant ceasing from that time to this day, which dignity indeed seems more fit for the sons or brothers of kings than for any subject. It is enacted by Statute of Parliament[1] in the 33rd year of King Henry VIII., that upon the death of the Lord Deputy or like vacancy of that government the Lord Chancellor and Council there may choose one or two to supply the place of Lord Justice till the King may be advertised of that vacancy, and appoint another government, provided that they choose no churchman, nor any but an Englishman.[2] The foresaid Lord Lieutenant, Deputy, or Justice (be they one or more) have ample power, little differing from regal, yet always limited according to the King's letters patent, which do very rarely enlarge or restrain the same to one more than the other, and that power also is countermanded many times by instructions from the state and by letters from the kings of England. The Lord Deputy by his letters patent under the great seal of Ireland may grant pardon of life, lands and goods, to any guilty or condemned man, even to traitors, only special treasons against the King's person are commonly excepted, as likewise wilful murders, which the kings themselves profess not to pardon. And to these men he may likewise give the King's protection for a time, when they live in the woods as outlaws or rebels; and in like sort he may give the lands and goods of felons and traitors convicted to any of his servants or friends, or to whom he will, either English or Irish. The King commonly reserves to his own gift some eight chief places, as of the Lords Presidents, the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Secretary, the Chief Justice, and Chief Baron, and likewise some chief places of the army, as of the Marshal, the Master of the Ordinance, and the Master Treasurer at Wars. For all other places the Lord Deputy grants them under the great seal of Ireland (as the former also when he is first warranted by letters out of England), and these he disposeth not only for his own time, but for the life of the possessors. The King reserves to himself the choice of bishops, but all other church livings are in the Lord Deputy's gift. The King reserves to himself the pupils of earls and barons, but the rest are in the Lord Deputy's gift, who likewise disposeth to his servants, friends and followers all intrusions, alienations, fines, and like things of great moment. And howsoever by inferior commissions some of the Council are joined to assist the Deputy in disposal of these things, yet that was wont to to be only for form, these Councillors very rarely opposing themselves to his pleasure. Yea, the gifts of the higher places in the state and army, of bishoprics, of earls' and barons' pupils, though reserved to the King, were wont seldom to be granted in England but upon the Lord Deputy's letters of recommendation sent out of Ireland. Finally, the Lord Deputy may leave forces, and do all things of regal authority save coining of money, which was always coined at London and sent into Ireland.[1] True it is that in those things which are put in his mere power by his letters patent he hath always subjected himself to instructions and letters sent out of England, which notwithstanding seldom have crossed his free disposal of all things in his power, since he used to grant them presently, before any can pass into England and return, having obtained them there. Notwithstanding in things put in his mere power, the most wise and moderate Deputies, foreseeing the short time of their government, and knowing that the councillors of state have their places for life, and observing that most Deputies returned into England laden with complaints, as well of councillors as of many private men, so as after good service they have been glad to receive the pardon of their errors for their deserved reward, for these causes have been so wary as in many things of their absolute power they used to refer the consideration of them to one or two of the Council, by that art

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[1] Chapter i. of Book I. of Part IV. of the *Itinerary* defines the topics included under the term Commonwealth thus: 'Under which title I contain the historical introduction, the King's pedigrees and courts, the present state of public affairs, the tributes and revenues, the military power for horse, foot and navy, the courts of justice, rare laws, more especially those of inheritance, and contracts of marriage, the criminal judgments, and the diversity of degrees in family and commonwealth.'

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[1] The title of Lord-Lieutenant did not become the habitual designation of the Viceroy until after the Restoration. In Tudor and early Stuart times it was an exceptional honour, although in Edward III.'s time and under the later Plantagenets it had been frequently bestowed. The Deputies of King John and Henry III. were called Justiciaries (*justiciarius*).

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[1] An Act for the election of the Lord Justice. 33 Hen. VIII. cap. 2.

[2] 'Two persons of English blood and sirname, being no spiritual persons,' is the language of the statute.

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[1] This is not accurate. Money had ceased to be coined in Ireland in Moryson's time, but mints had formerly existed in Dublin and some provincial cities. See Part I. p. 30 *supra.*

drawing their consent, and yet still having their own intentions seldom or never opposed by those councillors, who found those referments graceful and profitable to them, and so willingly seconded the Lords Deputies' pleasure.[1]

In my opinion nothing is so contrary to the affections of the Irish to which the King's personal presence might not easily lead or draw them,[2] more than his sword in his Deputy's hand can force them. But the dangerous passages of the sea and the general affairs of state giving the Irish small hope of their King's frequent presence, no doubt in his absence they more reverence a Lord Deputy that is by degree a Duke, Earl or Baron, than any knight though he be of any like great family, and such a Deputy shall by the authority of his degree more easily suppress their rebellious spirits against the state, and tyranny towards their tenants, than any Deputy of inferior degree can do, by greater valour and wisdom. And since the Irish are most prone to tumults and commotions, their nature in general rather requires a valiant, active Deputy, than one that is wise and politic, if withal he be slow and faint-hearted.

But it may well be doubted whether the short government commonly allotted to the Deputies be profitable to our state or no. For magistrates often changed like hungry flies suck more blood, and as the devil rageth more because his time is short, so these magistrates, fearing soon to be recalled, are not so much bent to reform the commonwealth, the fruit whereof should be reaped by the successor, as they are vigilant to enrich themselves and their followers. Neither indeed can that crafty and subtle nation be well known to any governor by few years' experience. So as the Irish, hoping the magistrate shall be recalled before he be skilful of their affairs, and that another far more unskilful shall be sent over in his place, use nothing more than dilatory temporising in their obedience to the King's commands or laws, hoping that new magistrates will give new laws; and so, if they can, put off any business for the present, if it be but for a day, thinking with crafty Davus[1] that in the meantime some chance may happen to their advantage, daily gaping for such changes and inquiring after nothing more. Yea, many times they are not deceived in this hope, but flocking to the new Deputy at his first arrival with their causes formerly determined though not to their mind and liking, they many times extort from these Deputies wanting experience new determinations, disagreeable and perhaps contrary to the former, with great hurt to the commonwealth and disgrace to the government.

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[1] See as to the powers of the Deputies Harris's *Ware*, ii. p. 88, and *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, vol. i. part iii. p. 52 *w*.

[2] This was also the opinion of Moryson's eminent contemporary, Sir John Davies: 'I join with these laws the personal presence of the King's son (Lionel, Duke of Clarence) as a concurrent cause of this reformation; because the people of this land, both English and Irish, out of a natural pride, did ever love to be governed by great persons.'—Sir J. Davies' *Discovery*.

It may be objected that it may prove dangerous to give a great man the absolute command of a kingdom for many years. No doubt, as barbarous nations, not knowing God whom they see not, worship his creatures by which immediately he confers ill or good upon them, so the Irish in the first place obey their landlords as nearest benefactors or oppressors, and in the next place, the Lord Deputy, whose person they see and whose power they feel; yet so as keeping faith promised to the present Deputy, they think themselves free from keeping the same to his successors, and for the King, he as unknown and farthest from revenge, hath ever been less feared by them. But the state may always be confident of a Lord Deputy, whose faithfulness and ends free from ambition, are well known to them. And let him be never so fit to embrace new and dangerous counsels, yet if he have a good estate of lands in England there is no danger of his attempts. For a wise man would not change that certain estate for any hopes of Ireland, which will always be most uncertain, as well because the kingdom cannot subsist without the support of some powerful king, as because the minds of the Irish are unstable, and as the common people everywhere, so they in a far greater measure, have most inconstant affections. Besides that such ambitious designs cannot by any man be resolved in council, much less put in execution, before the state of England may have means to know and prevent them.

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[1] 'Crafty Davus,' a character in Terence's *Andria*.

Their objection is of greater force who think it fit these governments be often changed, that many of the English may know the affairs of that kingdom, which otherwise will be known to few. But what if three years will not suffice to understand how to govern that crafty nation! Surely at least after these years of contemplation, methinks some time should be given to the governor to bring his counsels and experience into actual reformation. For as heretofore they have been often changed, so the Deputies have laboured more to compose tumults and disorders for the time than to take away the causes, and to make the peace permanent, lest their successor should enter upon their harvest, imputing the troubles to them, and arrogating the appeasing thereof to himself. Whereupon sharp emulation, or rather bitter malice, hath commonly been between the Deputies nearest foregoing and succeeding. So as the new Deputy, affecting private fame rather than public good, hath seldom or never trodden the steps of his predecessor, but rather insisted upon his own maxims of government, especially caring that his actions be not obscured by those of his predecessor, and this Babylonian confusion of distracted and contrary motions in the chief governors hath made the Irish, like wild colts having unskilful riders, to learn all their jadish tricks. Whereas if the government were continued till the magistrate might know the nature of the people, with the secrets of that state, and apply the remedies proper thereunto; if after their government (according to the custom of the state of Venice) each Deputy should give in writing to the state in England a full relation of his government and the state of that kingdom, so as his successor might weave the same web he had begun, and not make a new frame of his own; if in regard the King's presence in Ireland may rather be wished than hoped, some special commissioners, sworn to faithful relation, were chosen in England once in two or three years, and sent over to visit the affairs of that kingdom, and to make like relation thereof at their return: no doubt that kingdom might in short time be reformed, and the King's revenues might be so increased, as Ireland might not only maintain itself in peace, but restore part of the treasure it hath formerly exhausted in England, and lay up means to supply future necessities of that state, since the said Deputies and commissioners would every one be ashamed not to add something to the public good of their own, and much more to do that was already done, or rather to destroy it by their employment. And the Irish would thereby be put from their shifting hopes, gaping for new, unskilful, and diversely affected magistrates, which have always animated them to destroy obedience and rebellious courses.[1]

By the complaint of former ages rather than experience in our time, I have observed that the Lord Deputy's authority in Ireland hath been much weakened by the granting of suits and rewards in England to many of the Irish, without having any recommendations from their Deputy, and much more because the judicial causes of the Irish have been determined in England without the Lord Deputy's privity, or having been formerly determined in Ireland, were sent back to be again examined and determined, according to letters of favour obtained by the plaintiffs in England, which made the subject proud, and to triumph upon the overruled magistrate, who no doubt is either unfit to govern a kingdom, or ought best to know who deserve punishment, who reward, and the most fit ways to determine judicial causes. Wherein I dare boldly say the contrary proceedings of our time, giving that magistrate his due honour, hath much advanced the public good.

Some do not approve the residence of the Lord Deputy at Dublin, and would have it rather at Athlone, upon the edge of Connaught and Ulster, where he should have those seditious provinces before him, and might easily fall with his forces into Munster, and so should be nearer hand to prevent tumults with his presence and compose them with his power, and likewise should have at his back the Pale (containing five shires, and so called because they ever were more quiet and subject to the English), and so might stop all rebels from disturbing the Pale, which would not only yield supplies of necessaries to his train and soldiers, but also give safe passage for transporting munition and victuals to Athlone from the store-houses at Dublin. And this counsel was so much urged to Queen Elizabeth, as these reasons, together with the saving of the charge to maintain a governor in Connaught with counsellors to assist him, and the like charge then intended for Ulster moved her to refer the determination thereof to the Lord Mountjoy, then Deputy, and the Council of State, who altered nothing because that course would have ruined or decayed the city of Dublin, and especially because the rebellion was soon after appeased, and our state hath commonly used, like mariners to be secure in fair weather, and never fly to the tacklings till a storm come.

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[1] It was probably with the idea of giving a greater continuity to the policy of the Irish Government that Mountjoy, on leaving Ireland at the close of the rebellion, was retained in the office of Lord-Lieutenant. He acted until his death as a kind of referee of the English Privy Council on all matters of Irish policy, though he was never in Ireland after 1603. With a similar view, Sir George Carew was sent over in 1611 to report on the state of the Irish Government under Sir Arthur Chichester, his Lord Deputy.

The mere Irish.

Touching the mere Irish, before I speak of them give me leave to remember four verses expressing four mischiefs afflicting them, as fruits of their idleness, slovenliness, and superstition :

Quatuor hybernos vexant animalia, turpes
Corpora vermiculi, sorices per tecta rapaces,
Carnivori vastantque lupi crudeliter agros,
Hæc tria nequitia superas Romane sacerdos.

For four vile beasts Ireland hath no fence :
Their bodies lice, their houses rats possess ;
Most wicked priests govern their conscience,
And ravening wolves do waste their fields no less.

That may be well said of the Irish which Cæsar in his 'Commentaries' writes of the old Germans : like beasts they do all things by force and arms, after a slavish manner. The magistrate doth nothing publicly or privately without arms. They revenge injuries seldom by law, but rather by the sword and rapine, neither are they ashamed of stealth or taking preys or spoils. Formerly I have showed that the Englishmen who subdued Ireland, and long maintained the conquest thereof, did flock into England upon the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, as well to bear up the factions as to inherit their kinsmen's lands in England, and so left waste their possessions in Ireland. At that time the mere Irish rushed into those vacant possessions, and the better to keep them, from that time were ever prone to rebellions, that the course of law might cease while they were in arms; and from that time resumed old barbarous laws and customs, which had been long abolished, and by withdrawing themselves from obedience to our laws, became powerful tyrants in all countries. From that time they did ever put forth and secretly maintain upon all fit occasions some outlaws to disturb peace (like our Robin Hood and Little John in the times of Richard I. and John, kings of England), growing to that impudency as these outlaws are not by them termed rebels, but men in action, living in the woods and boggy places. Among them (and many of the English-Irish by their example) those that became lords of countries were ever as many heads so many monstrous tyrants. These have not their lands divided in many countries, as our noblemen in England (whereby they are less powerful to disturb peace) but possess whole countries together, whereof notwithstanding great parts lie waste only for want of tenants. And because they have an ill custom, that tenants are reputed proper to those lands on which they dwell, without liberty to remove their dwelling under another landlord, they still desire more land, rather to have the tenants than the land, whereas, if we could furnish their old lands with tenants (as perhaps they have in some sort done since the last rebellion, of which and former times I write) they would much exceed our greatest lords in yearly revenues.

It is a great mischief that, among them, all of one name or sept and kindred dwell not (as in England) dispersed in many shires, but all live together in one village, lordship, and county, ready and apt to conspire together in any mischief. And by an old law, which they call of themistry vulgarly called tanistry[1]—by many of our laws abolished, yet still in force among themselves—every sept chooseth their chief head or captain, not the eldest son of the eldest family, but the oldest, or rather the most daring, man (whereby they always understand the most licentious swordsman) as most fit to defend them. And this chief they not only choose among themselves, but of corrupt custom impudently challenged to be confirmed by the Lord Deputies, producing many like grants of that dignity made of old by the Lord Deputies under their hands and seals, than which nothing can be more fit to maintain factions and tumults, and to hinder the course of the King's laws. By the same law—often abolished by us, but still retained in use among them—they will needs have the choice of him that shall inherit the land of the last chief of any sept or name, not respecting therein the eldest son according to our laws, but him that most pleaseth their turbulent humours, whence flows a plentiful spring of murders, parricides and conspiracies against the kings and their laws. For first hereby they professed to live after their own laws, and openly denied obedience to the King's laws; and again (to give an instance of one mischief, passing over many other of no less moment), when any of these chiefs or lords of countries upon submission to the state, hath surrendered his lands to the King, and taken a new grant of them by the King's letters patent with conditions fit for public good, they boldly say that he held his lands by the tenure of tanistry only for his life, and so will not be tied to any of his acts. And it is no matter what they profess, why should we hear their words when we see their deeds? I do not think, but know, that they will never be reformed in religion, manners, and constant obedience to our laws but by the awe of the sword, and by a strong hand, at least for a time, bridling them.

By these and like corrupt customs, neglecting our laws, they become disturbers of the peace, and after a barbarous manner, for terror or in pride, add to their names O (noting the chief or head) and Mac (noting the son of such a one), and thus they are called O'neales, O'Donnells, MacMahownes, with a rabble of like names, some rather seeming the names of devouring giants than Christian subjects; yea, some of old English families, degenerating into this barbarism, have changed their names after the Irish tongue, as the Urslies[1] are called Mahownes, taking the notation from the name of a bear: yea, some of the most licentious take to themselves nicknames suitable to their wicked dispositions, as one of the O'Donnells was called Garbe,[2] that is a choleric, strong (or lusty) gallant, and such he was indeed. And some as if they were knights of Amadis of Gaul, and had the valour of those errant knights, were called the Knight of the Valley, the White Knight, and the like. And withal they despise our titles of earls and lords, which so weakens the great men's estimation among them as they must cast them away, and assume their old barbarous names whensoever they will have the power to lead the people to any rebellious action. For in those barbarous names and nicknames the Irish are proud to have the rebellious acts of their forefathers sung by their bards or poets, at their feasts and public meetings. Again, they have a corrupt custom to increase their power by fostering their children with the most valiant, rich, and powerful neighbours, since that people bears such strange reverence to this bond and pledge of love, as they commonly love their foster-children more than their own. The events of which custom forced our progenitors to make severe laws against the same, which notwithstanding, howsoever restrained for the time, grew again to be of force among them in our age.

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[1] For a succinct account of the custom of tanistry, see Richey's *History of Ireland*, pp. 49–50. For a more nearly contemporary exposition of the custom, see Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, and Sir J. Davies's *Reports*.

[1] The FitzGeralds, Knights of Glin, and FitzGibbons, or White Knights, both representing powerful Anglo-Norman families which had become hibernicised, are referred to here. This account of the origin of the McMahons is followed by all the English writers on Ireland of this period. But as Father Hogan points out in his notes to Haynes's *Description of Ireland in* 1598, p. 23, Mr. Evelyn Shirley in his *History of Monaghan* has traced the pedigree of the McMahon sept to purely Celtic sources.

[2] Garve.

They have likewise a ridiculous custom—that married women give fathers to their children when they are at the point of death; insomuch as they have a pleasant tale—that a younger son hearing his mother give base fathers to some of his brethren, besought her with tears to give him a good father. But commonly they give them fathers of the O'neales, O'Donnells, or such great men, or at least those that are most famous for licentious boldness. And these bastard children ever after follow these fathers, and, thinking themselves to descend of them, will be called swordsmen, and, scorning husbandry and manual arts, live only of rapine and spoil.

These foresaid mere Irish lords of countries govern the people under them with such tyranny, as they know no king in respect of them, who challenge all their goods and chattels to be theirs, saying that their progenitors did not only give them lands to till, but also cows and other goods to possess at the lord's will and disposal. Neither take they any rent of them for their lands, but at pleasure impose money upon them upon all occasions of spending, as journeys to Dublin or into England, paying their debts, entertaining of the Lord Deputy or judges, and like occasions, sometimes true, sometimes feigned, taking a great or small portion of their goods according to the quality of the cause. And these exactions they do well call cuttings,[1] wherewith they do not only cut, but devour the people. And it little availeth these poor tenants, though some of them can prove by indentures that they are freeholders, and not tenants at will, for of old to the end of the last war (of which time I write and desire to be understood) the lords by tyrannical custom still overswayed the people's right in these courses. And this custom was the fountain of many evils, more especially of one mischief—that if the tenant by any crime forfeited his goods, the lord denied him to have any property therein; and yet if the same goods were seized by the sheriff for any fines for the King, or debts of the lord to private men, the tenants forthwith exclaimed of injustice to punish them for the lord's offences with this (as it were) dilemma, still deluding the execution of justice. Yea, these lords challenged right of inheritance in their tenants' persons, as if by old covenants they were born slaves to till their ground, and do them all like services, and howsoever they were oppressed might not leave their land to dwell under any other landlord. And these suits between the lords for right in tenants were then most frequent. Thus I remember the son of Henry Oge[1] to be killed in the country of MacMahon while he went thither to bring back by force a fugitive tenant (as they term them). Like suits for tenants were frequent at this time between the new created Earl of Tirconnell and Sir Neale Garve,[2] and at first the magistrate commanded the Earl to restore to Sir Neale his old tenants; but when peace was more settled, the itinerant judges, going to Ulster, added a general caution in this case—that the tenants should not be forced to return, except they were willing, professing at public meetings, with great applause of the people, that it was most unjust the King's subjects, born in a free commonwealth, should be used like slaves. Again these lords, challenging all their tenants' goods, think scorn to have any cows or herds of cattle of their own, though sometimes they permit their wives to have some like property. They distribute their lands among their tenants, to be tilled only for one, two, or three years, and so the people build no houses, but, like nomads living in cabins, remove from one place to another with their cows, and commonly retire them within thick woods not to be entered without a guide, delighting in this roguish life, as more free from the hand of justice and more fit to commit rapines. Thus the country people living under the lords' absolute power as slaves, and howsoever they have plenty of corn, milk, and cattle, yet having no property in anything, obey their lords in right and wrong, and being all of the Roman Church, and being taught that it is no sin to break faith with us, and so little regarding an oath taken before our magistrates, the King was often defrauded of his right by the falsehood of juries, in his inheritance, wards, attainders, escheats, intrusions, alienations, and all pleas of the crown. At the end of the war, among infinite examples, this was well seen in the case of Meade, the Recorder of Cork, who, having committed open treason, was acquitted by an Irish jury, himself craftily hastening his trial for fear he should be tried in England.[1] The Court of the Star Chamber, shortly after established, severely punished juries for abuses of this last kind, but with what effect is beside my purpose to write. These Irish lords in the last war had a cunning trick—that howsoever the father possessing the land bore himself outwardly as a subject, yet his sons, having no land in possession, should live with the rebels, and keep him in good terms with them, and his goods from present spoiling. The lords of Ireland, at this time whereof I write, nourished thieves, as we do hawks, openly boasting among themselves who had the best thieves. Neighbours entertaining these men into their families, for mutual prejudices, was a secret fuel of the Civil War, they being prone to rebellion, and in peace not forbearing to steal at home, and to spoil all passengers near their abode.

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[1] Levies made by the lord upon his tenants either for warlike expeditions or other expenses of the kind mentioned in the text.

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[1] Henry Oge O'Neill.

[2] The headship of the O'Donnells was disputed during Mountjoy's government between Rory O'Donnell and Neill Garve O'Donnell. The Deputy decided in favour of the former, as the direct heir to his brother, the former Earl.

The wild or mere Irish have a generation of poets, or rather rhymers vulgarly called bards, who in their songs used to extol the most bloody, licentious men, and no others, and to allure the hearers, not to the love of religion and civil manners, but to outrages, robberies, living as outlaws, and contempt of the magistrates' and the King's laws. Alas! how unlike unto Orpheus, who, with his sweet harp and wholesome precepts of poetry, laboured to reduce the rude and barbarous people from living in woods to dwell civilly in towns and cities, and from wild riot to moral conversation. All good men wished these knaves to be strictly curbed and severely punished. For the mere Irish, howsoever they understood not what was truly honourable, yet out of barbarous ignorance are so affected to vainglory, as they nothing so much feared the Lord Deputy's anger as the least song or ballad these rascals might make against them, the singing whereof to their reproach would more have daunted them than if a judge had doomed them to the gallows. They had also another rabble of jesters, which used to frequent the tables of lords and gentlemen, continual tellers of news, which commonly they reduced to the prejudice of the public good.

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[1] William Meade, Recorder of Cork, incited the citizens of Cork to resist the building of a fort for the defence of the city, and shut the city gates in the face of the soldiers of the President of Munster. Meade was tried at Youghal, after Cork had submitted, by the Viceroy, but was acquitted by the jury. Proceedings were taken against the jurors in the Court of Castle Chamber for disregard of their oaths, and they were heavily fined. *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1603–1606, pp. 2–121. See also Smith's *Ancient and Present State of the County of Cork*, vol. ii. cap. iv.

Again, the Irish in general, more especially the mere Irish, being slothful and given to nothing more than base idleness, they nourished a third generation of vipers vulgarly called carrows,[1] professing (forsooth) the noble science of playing at cards and dice, which so infected the public meetings of the people and the private houses of lords, as no adventure was too hard in shifting for means to maintain these sports. And indeed the wild Irish do madly affect them, so as they will not only play and lose their money and movable goods, but also engage their lands—yea, their own persons, to be held as prisoners—by the winner, till he be paid the money for which they are engaged. It is a shame to speak, but I heard by credible relation that some were found so impudent as they had suffered themselves to be led as captives, tied by the parts of their body which I will not name, till they had money to redeem themselves. Could a provost-marshal be better employed than in hanging up such rascals and like vagabond persons? For howsoever none could better do it than the sheriffs, yet because the Irish frequently, and in part justly, complained of their extortions (as I shall after show), I dare not say that martial law might well be committed to them.

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[1] 'Carrows.' *Cf.* Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*: 'Carrows, which is a kind of people that wander up and down to gentlemen's houses, living only upon cards and dice.' Campion in his history defines these people as 'a brotherhood of Carrows that profess to play at cards all the year long and make it their only occupation,' p. 19.

The Irish thus given to idleness, naturally abhor from manual arts and civil trades to gain their own bread, and the basest of them will be reputed gentlemen and swordmen, for so they are termed who profess to live by their swords and have been always apt to raise civil wars, and ever most hardly drawn to lay down arms by which they had liberty to live in riot. Many examples might be given in the highest kind of mischief produced by this idleness; but that the vice is most natural to the Irish I will only give one example, which myself observed of fishermen in the cities of Munster, who being no swordsmen, yet were generally so slothful, as in the calmest weather, and the greatest concourse of noblemen, when they had no fear of danger, and great hope of gain, though seas abound with excellent fish and the province with frequent ports and bays most fit for fishing, yet so long as they had bread to eat would not put to sea, no, not commanded by the Lord Deputy, till they were beaten by force out of their houses. And in my opinion this idleness hath been nourished by nothing more (as I have formerly showed upon other occasions) than by the plenty of the land and great housekeeping drawing the people from trades, while they can be fed by others without labour. This experience hath showed of old, as well in England, where the greatest robberies were commonly done by idle serving men swarming in great houses, as in the more northern parts, and in Ireland, where the multitude of loose followers hath of old been prone to fight their lords' quarrels—yea, to rebel with them. Whereas no doubt the exercise of trades, and the custom of industry to live every man of his own, are a strong establishment of any commonwealth. The mere Irish given to sloth are also most luxurious, and not to speak of the abundance of meats, they are excessively given to drunkenness. For howsoever while they live in woods and in cabins with their cattle they could be content with water and milk, yet when they came to towns nothing was more frequent than to tie their cows at the doors, and never part from the taverns till they had drunk them out in sack and strong water, which they call usquebaugh; and this did not only the lords, but the common people, though half naked for want of clothes to cover them. No man may justly marvel if, among such people, dissolute hucksters, apt to raise seditions and live like outlaws, be frequently found. Therefore at the end of the last war it was wished and expected that this luxury should be suppressed, at least from general excess, that all vagabond persons should be severely punished, that the people should be allured and drawn to love manual arts and trades, and specially husbandry of tillage. For whereas all, yea the most strong and able bodies, and men given to spoils and robberies in all times, gladly employed themselves in feeding of cows, that course of life was embraced by them as suitable to their innate sloth, and as most fit to elude or protract all execution of justice against them, while they commonly lived in thick woods abounding with grass. But no doubt it were much better if Ireland should be reduced to less grazing and more tillage by the distribution of lands among tenants, in such sort as ever after it should (as in England) be unlawful to change any tillage into pasture.

The English-Irish.

Touching the English-Irish—namely, such as descend of the first English conquering that country, or since in divers ages and times to this day transplanted out of England into Ireland—it is wonderful, yet most true, that for some later ages they have been (some in high, some in less measure) infected with the barbarous customs of the mere Irish and with the Roman religion, so as they grew not only as adverse to the reformation of civil policy and religion as the mere Irish, but even combined with them and showed such malice to the English nation as if they were ashamed to have any community with it, of country, blood, religion, language, apparel, or any such general bond of amity. And for this alienation they did not shame in the last civil war to allege reasons to justify their so doing—namely, that they whose progenitors had conquered that kingdom, and were at first thought most worthy to govern the same under our kings, were by a new law excluded from being deputies, and had otherwise small or no power in the state. Again, that after they were broken and worn out in the civil war of England between the houses of York and Lancaster, they were not strengthened with new colonies out of England, and so being weaker than the mere Irish, were forced to apply themselves to the stronger, by contracting affinity with them, and using their language and apparel. These and like reasons they pretended, which I will first answer, and then show the true causes thereof. It cannot be denied but the English-Irish after the first conquest were by our kings made chief governors of that kingdom, yea and many ages after were sometimes lord deputies, and were always capable of that place, till the time of King Henry VIII.,[1] but never without detriment of the Commonwealth, and danger from them that possessed it. To the first English-Irish born of noble families in England our kings gave large patrimonies and great privileges, making them sometimes governors of the state, but in process of time, some of them forgetting their country, blood, and all pledges of love towards the English, not only became rebels, but by degrees grew like the mere Irish in all things, even in hating the English, and becoming chief leaders to all seditions; growing at last to such pride in the last civil war, as if they had not rewards when they deserved punishments, or could not obtain pensions to serve the state, they were more ready to rebel than the mere Irish themselves. Among these, some in hatred to the English changed their English names into Irish, yet retaining the old notation, as the Urselies called themselves MacMahownes, some in Ulster of the family of Veres called themselves Macrones, others of the family of great Mortimer called themselves Macmarrs. These and some others, as Bermingham descended of old English barons, and the Lord Courcy, whose progenitors of the English nobility were among the chief and first conquerors of the kingdom, grew so degenerate, as in the last rebellion they could not be distinguished from mere Irish. The rest retaining their old names, and in good measure the English manners, as Tyrrell, Lacy, many of the Bourkes and Geraldines, and some of the Nugents, yet became chief leaders in the late rebellion. These men no man will judge capable of the chief governments in that kingdom. But let them pass, and let us consider if the English-Irish that in the rebellion remained subjects, and will not be stained with the name of rebels, have any just cause to complain that they are excluded from the government, because the law forbids them to be Deputies. They are in England free denizens, having equal right with the English to inherit lands, and bear offices, and obtain any dignity whereof their merit or the King's favour may make them capable. Let them remember that the Earl Strongbow, being the leader of the English that first conquered Ireland, when the King would have committed him the government thereof, did modestly refuse the same, except the King would join some assistants with him, not ignorant what danger that magistracy would bring to him more than to any other. Let them remember that among other noble families of the English conquerors, first Lacy, then Courcy, had the chief government of that kingdom, but the first was recalled into England to give account of his government, not without danger of losing his head; the other was long cast into prison. Let them remember that the Lord Deputy's place did weaken and almost destroy the family of the Geraldines, after which time King Henry VIII. by Act of Parliament first excluded the English-Irish from being chief governors of that kingdom, as common experience made all men find that government not only dangerous to themselves advanced to it, but also more displeasing to the people, who least like the command of their own countrymen, and were most ready to load them with complaints in England, as also their own countrymen being councillors of state, whose oppressions they most felt, and grieved at. Yet many English-Irish continued councillors of state at the time of Queen

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[1] See the 'Act for the Election of a Lord Justice,' 33 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

Elizabeth and the last rebellion whereof I write. For my part, if the English-Irish had English affections, I would think no difference should be made between them and the English. But in the last rebellion nothing was more evident than that our secret counsels were continually made known to Tyrone and other rebels, and let men judge unpartially, who could more justly be suspected of this falsehood than the councillors of state born in that kingdom? Many counsels were propounded for reforming the state, for banishing Jesuits and other troublers of the state, and let themselves unpartially speak, who did more frustrate those designs than the councillors of that time born in that kingdom? Were not the Chief Justice and the Chief Baron of that time both born and bred in Ireland?[1] Let them say truly for what good service of theirs Queen Elizabeth appointed overseers to look into their actions and make them known to her Deputy. No doubt that wise Queen either thought the counsels of Sir Robert Dillon, Knight, the said Chief Justice of Ireland, contrary to the public good, or upon better advice she would never have removed him from that place which her gracious favour had first conferred upon him. What needs we use circumstances; the general opinion of that time was, that the English-Irish made councillors of state and judges of courts did evidently hurt the public good, and that their false-hearted help did more hinder reformation than the open acts of the rebels. Generally before this time they were papists, and if some of them upon hypocritical dispensation went to church, commonly their parents, children, kinsmen and servants were open and obstinate papists in profession. Tell me any one of them who did, according to the duty of their place, publicly commend or command to the people the use of the Common Prayer Book, and the frequenting of our churches? Why do they glory of their governing the commonwealth if they cannot show one good act of reformation persuaded and perfected by them?

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[1] The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Robert Dillon, and the Chief Baron, Sir Luke Dillon, were both Irishmen; but the Chief Justice of Ireland from 1585 to 1604, Robert Gardiner, was an Englishman. See Smyth's *Law Officers of Ireland.*

In the reign of King Edward III., when the King found the Pope obstinate for usurping the hereditary right of him and his subjects, in bestowing church livings under their patronage, and valiantly opposed himself to this and other oppressions of the Pope, observing that his counsels were no way more crossed than by Italians and Frenchmen, whom the Pope had cunningly preferred to bishoprics and benefices, yea, to be of the King's council of state, whereby they had means to betray the secrets of the state, he wisely made an Act of Parliament in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, whereby he provided remedy against these unfaithful counsellors and churchmen. That which King Edward might do in this case, may not his successors do the same in Ireland upon like danger, sequestering any suspected persons from places in counsel and judgment. When magistrates themselves use only connivancy in punishing disobedience to the laws, and sects in religion, doth not their example confirm the people in disobedience to their king? But you shall know the lion by his paw (as the proverb saith). Let us further see how the English-Irish in those times carried themselves in military commands committed to them. Queen Elizabeth, finding that the Lords Deputies from the first beginning of the last rebellion had made a great error in levying companies of the English-Irish to suppress the mere Irish, so having trained them up as the very horse-boys of them following our army were proved good shot, was at last forced to entertain of them many companies of foot and troops of horse in her pay, lest they should fall to the rebel party. Of these some worthy commanders did good service, and all in general, so long as they were employed in our army, served bravely, so as the Lord Deputy was often bold to take the field when half his forces consisted of them. But when they were left in garrison, especially in their own countries, it was observed that generally they did no service; but, lying still, wasted the Queen's treasure, and lest they should lose their pay, which they esteemed a revenue, or religion should be reformed in time of peace (which they most feared), they did make our counsels known to the rebels, did underhand relieve them, and used all means to nourish and strengthen the rebellion. It is strange but most true that, as well to merit the rebels' favour, as to have the goods of their country safe from spoiling, the very subjects gave large contributions to the rebels, insomuch as one country (whereby an estimate of the rest may be made) did pay the rebels three hundred pounds yearly, using this art to avoid the danger of the law, that when they made a cutting upon cows for this purpose, they pretended to make this exaction for the lord's use, underhand sending the rebels word thereof that they might by force surprise those cows, which indeed were levied for them. And besides all or most of them had children, brothers or kinsmen joined with the rebels, as hostages of their love, and pledges of reconcilement upon all events. Again, I said formerly that the septs, or men of one name and blood, lived together in one town and country, each sept having a captain or chief of that name. Now this point is a great mystery, that they could give no more certain pledge of faith to us than to draw blood of any of these septs. But the Lord Deputy making it a chief project to make them draw blood in this kind upon their neighbours, found it a most hard thing to effect with any of the English-Irish, yea with those that were in the Queen's pay; yet the English-Irish being in the state's pay, lest they should be held altogether unprofitable, and to purchase reward of service, would sometimes kill a poor rebel, or bring him alive to the state, whose revenge they feared not, yea perhaps a rebel of note to whom the chief neighbour rebels bore malice, and so cast him into their hands. And this done they used to triumph as though they had done a masterpiece of service, and could hardly have the patience to expect a ship to carry them into England that in Court they might importune extraordinary reward besides their ordinary pay. To be brief, the Queen's letters shall bear me witness that the English-Irish placed in garrisons at their own home lived idle without doing any service, exhausted the public treasure, and by all means nourished the rebellion, especially by plots laid at private parlies and at public meetings upon hills (called raths), where many treacherous conspiracies were made. Would any equal man blame a prince for putting such soldiers out of pay, for prohibiting such parlies, and for careful watching over such meetings? Great privileges were worthily granted at first to the great lords of English race for their conquest, and great power over the people was wisely given them at first, both for reward and for power to keep the mere Irish in subjection. But if these lords use their privileges and power to contrary ends, spoiling the subjects and wasting the country by their swordmen, when the cause ceased shall not the effect cease? When their virtue is changed and their ends corrupted, may not a wise prince abridge their privileges and power? The same is the reason of the law forbidding any of the English-Irish to be Lord Deputy. The famous Queen Elizabeth, finding the ill event of these ill causes, became jealous of the English-Irish councillors of state and judges, and used the aforesaid remedies against a chief justice and a chief baron of that time.[1] Formerly I acknowledge that the English-Irish served bravely in our army, while they were under the Lord Deputy's eyes; and some worthy commanders of them showed great faithfulness, and did special services; yet this most wise Queen found their defects, and that the strength of her affairs consisted in breeding English soldiers, so as she commanded the other companies to be no more supplied, but to be cast by degrees, as they grew defective, and in the meantime to be employed out of their own countries, where they might not fear to draw blood of the bordering septs. The Earl of Clanricarde served the said Queen so well, as he cannot be too much commended for the same, and was also highly in her favour; yet when the Earl of Essex had left him governor of his own country, howsoever, she would not openly displace him, yet she ceased not till by her directions he was induced to a voluntary resignation thereof into her hands. For indeed, the English-Irish and mere Irish of that time were generally so humorous as their fathers or brothers that died having any government of the country or command in the army, they esteemed the same as due to them by inheritance, or at least if they were not conferred on them, grew discontented and prone to any mischievous course. To conclude, the English-Irish of that time (few or none excepted) were obstinate and most superstitious papists, and what our state might have hoped from such men in high places of government let wise men judge.

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[1] Sir Robert Dillon was deprived of his office in 1593. The Chief Baron had died the year before.

The second excuse of the English-Irish for applying themselves to the mere Irish in manners, laws and customs, and so growing strangers (if not enemies) to the English, hath some colour of truth, but can never justify this action: namely, that the colonies of the first English conquering Ireland, being broken and wasted in the civil war of England between the houses of York and Lancaster, were never supplied, but left so weak as they were forced to apply themselves to the mere Irish as the stronger. Since the noble families of England were much wasted in the same war, no marvel if at the end thereof, our Kings first intended the restoring of England to the former vigour before they could cast their eyes upon Ireland, and in this meantime the mere Irish had taken such root, and so overtopped the English-Irish as the sending of English colonies thither so long as the mere Irish remained good subjects, would rather have disturbed than established peace. The first fair occasion of planting new English colonies there was given in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by two rebellions, the first of the English-Irish Geraldines, who had the Earl of Desmond for their head, the second of the mere Irish and many English-Irish, having the Earl of Tyrone for their head. Touching the first, when the Earl of Desmond was subdued, and that rebellion appeased, the said Queen (of happy memory) intended great reformation by planting new English families upon the forfeited lands of the Earl of Desmond in Munster. But this good intention was made void by a great error of that time, in that those lands were granted, partly to obstinate papists, partly to courtiers who sold their shares to like obstinate papists, as men that would give most for them. Whereof two great mischiefs grew. First, that these papists being more obstinate than others, and thereupon choosing to leave their dwelling in England, where the securing of the laws bridled them, and to remove into Ireland, where they might be more remote, and so have greater liberty, showed the old proverb to be true:

> Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.
> Passing the sea with a swift wind, doth change the air but not the mind.

For they not only remained papists, but grew more and more obstinate with liberty, and by their example confirmed both the English-Irish and mere Irish in that superstition. Secondly, these new-planted English (commonly called undertakers) being thus ill affected, did not perform the covenants imposed in their grants for establishing peace in that province; for they neither built castles, to strengthen them against times of rebellion, neither did they plant their lands with well-affected tenants out of England, giving them freeholds, copyholds, and leases, and tying them to serve on foot or horseback upon all occasions of tumult or war, which would much have strengthened the English against the mere Irish and all invasions. But they took a contrary course, not only planting their lands with mere Irish tenants (to whom they gave no such tenor of freehold, copyhold or lease, and who served them upon base abject conditions, whereby they made great profit for the present), but also entertaining them for servants in their families for the same reason of present profit. And this made their great profit of small continuance, and their dwellings of less strength and safety. For in the first troubles of the next rebellion of Tyrone, themselves and the state found by woeful experience that they had noway strengthened the province, but only dispeopled and wasted other lands to bring tenants upon their own, so as the King's other rents were thereby as much diminished as increased by their rents, and the number of horse or foot to defend the province were nothing increased by them; neither had they made greater number of English to pass in juries between the King and the subjects, so as the Lord President had not power to suppress the first rebels, and the judges in all trials were forced to use the Irish, who made no conscience of doing wrong to the King and the English subjects. Again, their Irish tenants either ran away, or turning rebels spoiled them, and the Irish in their houses were ready to betray them, and open their doors to the rebels. So, as some of those undertakers were in the first tumult killed, some taken prisoners were cruelly handled, and had their wives and daughters shamefully abused, great part ran out of the kingdom, and yet shamed not to claim and profess in the end of the rebellion these lands, the defence whereof they had so basely forsaken. Some few kept their old revenued castles, but with great charge to the state in maintaining warders to defend them, which warders were so many as greatly diminished the force of our army in the field. Thus were the good purposes of that first plantation made frustrate by ill-disposed undertakers.

Touching the other rebellion of Tyrone, the appeasing thereof concurred at one instant with the death of our said Queen, beyond which time my purpose is not to write, and therefore it should be impertinent for me worthily to magnify the plantation in the north established by King James, our gracious sovereign. Only I will say for the want of former colonies planting, whereof the English-Irish complain, that as the plantation after Desmond's rebellion was made frustrate by ill-disposed undertakers, so, from the foresaid civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster to the end of Tyrone's rebellion, all the English in general that voluntarily left England to plant themselves in Ireland, either under the said undertakers of Munster, or upon the lands of any other English-Irish throughout Ireland, or to live in cities and towns, were generally observed to have been either papists, men of disordered life, bankrupts, or very poor (not speaking of those of the army remaining there after the rebellion, who are of another time succeeding that whereof I write, and well known to be of good condition). By which course Ireland, as the heel of the body, was made the sink of England, the stench whereof had almost annoyed very Cheapside, the heart of the body, in Tyrone's pestilent rebellion. To conclude, I deny not but the excuse of weakness in the English-Irish colonies, forcing them to apply to the mere Irish as stronger, hath in part a true ground, though it cannot justify the act. And if I should persuade the planting of Ireland with new colonies, I should now speak out of time, when that profitable and necessary action is in great measure performed by the providence of our dread sovereign. If I should commend and extol the Act, I fear I should therein be reputed as foolish as the sophister, who in a public assembly made a long oration in praise of Hercules, whom no man at that time or formerly ever dispraised.

But I will pass from their alleged excuses to the true causes of their alienation from us and application to the mere Irish. The grand cause is their firm consent with them in the Roman religion, whereof I shall speak at large in the next book of this part.[1] The second cause, also predominant, though in a lower degree, is the profit they have long time found in the barbarous laws and customs of the Irish, by tyrannical oppression of the poor people under them, of which point I have formerly spoken in this chapter. The third cause is their contracting affinity with them by marriage, and amity by mutual fostering of children. The fourth is community of apparel. The fifth community of language. Of which three last causes I will now speak briefly.

The power of these three last causes to corrupt the manners and faith of any nation, being well known, the progenitors of our kings with consent of the states of that kingdom in Parliament, did of old make many Acts against them, which sometimes wrought reformation, but without any during effect. For, contrary to these laws, the English-Irish have for many ages, almost from the first conquest, contracted marriages with the mere Irish, whose children of mingled race could not but degenerate from their English parents, and also mutually fostered each other's children, which bond of love the Irish generally so much esteem as they will give their foster-children a part of their goods with their own children, and the very children fostered together love one another as natural brothers and sisters, yea, their foster brothers or sisters better than their own. Only I must say for the English-Irish citizens, especially those of Cork, that they have ever so much avoided these marriages with the mere Irish, as for want of others commonly marrying among themselves, all the men and women of the city had for many ages been of kindred in near degree one with the other.

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[1] Book III. of Part IV. of Moryson's work is devoted to an account of the religious systems of the countries through which he travelled, and religion in Ireland is considered at large in chapter vi. of this book. Mr. Hughes has printed a portion of Moryson's remarks on this head at pp. 285–9 of *Shakespeare's Europe*. As they are acutely controversial, and as this volume is not concerned with the theological quarrels of the period, they are not reproduced here

Again, contrary to the said laws, the English-Irish for the most part have for many ages had the same attire and apparel with the mere Irish, namely the nourishing of long hair (vulgarly called glibs[1]) which hangs down to the shoulders, hiding the face, so as a malefactor may easily escape with his face covered therewith, or by colouring his hair, and much more by cutting it off, may so alter his countenance as those of his acquaintance shall not know him; and this hair being exceeding long, they have no use of cap or hat. Also they wear straight breeches, called trousers, very close to the body, and loose coats like large waistcoats, and mantles instead of cloaks, which mantles are as cabin for an outlaw in the woods, a bed for a rebel, and a cloak for a thief, and being worn over the head and ears, and hanging down to the heels, a notorious villain lapped in them may pass any town or company without being known. Yet I must likewise confess that the best part of the citizens did not then use this Irish apparel.[2]

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[1] Glibs, 'a thick curled bunch of hair, hanging down over his eyes.'—Spenser.

[2] For illustrations of the Irish costumes of the period see the plates in Speed's *Theatre of the British Empire*. See also for a slightly earlier period the

Again, contrary to the said laws, the Irish-English altogether used the Irish tongue, forgetting or never learning the English. And this communion or difference of language hath always been observed a special motive to unite or alienate the mind of all nations, so as the wise Romans, as they enlarged their conquests, so they did spread their language, with their laws and the divine service all in the Latin tongue, and by rewards and preferments invited men to speak it; as also the Normans in England brought in the use of the French tongue in our common law, and all words of art in hawking, hunting, and like pastimes. And in general all nations have thought nothing more powerful to unite minds than the community of language. But the law to spread the English tongue in Ireland was ever interrupted by rebellions, and much more by ill-affected subjects, so as at this time whereof I write the mere Irish disdained to learn or speak the English tongue, yea, the English-Irish and the very citizens (excepting those of Dublin where the Lord Deputy resides), though they could speak English as well as we, yet commonly speak Irish among themselves, and were hardly induced by our familiar conversation to speak English with us. Yea, common experience showed, and myself and others often observed, the citizens of Waterford and Cork having wives that could speak English as well as we bitterly to chide them when they speak English with us, insomuch as after the rebellion ended, when the itinerant judges went their circuits through the kingdom each half year to keep assizes, few of the people, no, not the very jurymen, could speak English, and at like sessions in Ulster, all the gentlemen and common people (excepting only the judges' train) and the very jurymen put upon life and death and all trials in law, commonly speak Irish, many Spanish, and few or none could or would speak English.

These outward signs, being the touchstones of the inward affection, manifestly showed that the English-Irish held it a reproach among themselves to apply themselves any

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plates in Derricke's *Notable Discovery of the State of the Wild Men in Ireland*, 1581, appended to his *Image of Ireland*, edited by Small, 1883.

way to the English, or not to follow the Irish in all things. Insomuch as I have heard twenty absurd things practised by them, only because they would be contrary to us, whereof I will only name some few for instances. Our women, riding on horseback behind men, sit with their faces towards the left arm of the man, but the Irish women sit on the contrary side, with their faces to the right arm. Our horses draw carts and like things with traces of ropes or leather, or with iron chains, but they fasten them by a withe to the tails of their horses, and to the rumps when the tails be pulled off, which had been forbidden by laws, yet could never be altered.[1] We live in cleanly houses; they in cabins or smoky cottages. Our chief husbandry is in tillage; they despise the plough, and where they are forced to use it for necessity, do all things about it clean contrary to us. To conclude, they abhor from all things that agree with English civility. Would any man judge these to be born of English parents, or will any man blame us for not esteeming or employing them as English who scorn to be so reputed? The penal laws against abuses had often been put in execution, but as the Popes, by their book taxing all sins with a penalty, did rather set sin at a price than abolish it, so they who had letters patent to execute these penal laws did not so much seek reformation, as by a moderate agreement for the penalties to raise a yearly rent to themselves, and so making the fault more common, did eat the sins of the people.

The fair cities of Ireland require something to be said of them. They were at first all peopled with Englishmen, and had large privileges, but in time became wonderfully degenerate, and perverted all these privileges to pernicious uses, as they were degenerated from the English to the Irish manners, customs, diet, apparel (in some measure), language, and generally all affections, so besides the universal inclination of merchants, no swordsmen more nourished the last rebellion than they did by all means in their power. First, they did so for fear lest upon peace established they might be inquired into for their religion, being all obstinate papists, abhorring from entering a church as the beasts tremble to enter the lion's den, and where they were forced to go to church (as the Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin to attend the Lord Deputy), there using to stop their ears with wool or some like matter, so as they could not hear a word the preacher spoke (a strange obstinacy, since faith comes by hearing, to resolve not to hear the charmer charm he never so wisely).[1] Secondly, for covetousness, since during the rebellion great treasure was yearly sent out of England, whereof no small part came to their hands from the army for victuals, apparel, and like necessaries. Yea, not content with this no small enriching of their estate, to nourish the war and thereby continue this enriching, as also for private gain from the rebels, they furnished them continually with all necessaries, never wanting crafty evasions from the capital danger of the law in such cases. For among other subtleties, were observed some of them to load great quantity of English woollen cloth and like necessaries upon carts and horses, as if they would send them to some of our neighbour garrisons; but we found manifest probabilities, yea certain proofs, that in the meantime they advertised some rebels of this transportation, who meeting the goods, intercepted the same as it were by force, and their servants returned home with a great outcry of this surprisal, but neither wounded nor so much as sad in countenance, as their masters proved never the poorer; for no doubt those rebels paid them largely for those goods, who without warm

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[1] As late as 1635 it was still necessary to legislate against this practice. The statute 10 & 11 Charles I. cap. 15, is directed 'against ploughing by the tail, and pulling the wool of living sheep.' The enactment seems to have been unpopular, for in the Peace of 1646 between the Duke of Ormond and the Confederate Lords, article 28 provided for the repeal of this legislation. Article 22 of the Peace of 1648 is to the like effect (*History of the Confederates and War in Ireland*, vol. vii. p. 201). In 1663 Sir Jerome Alexander was desired to aid on circuit in recovering forfeitures 'for driving and ploughing by the tail' (*Carte Papers*, vol. 144, p. 20). Dinely in his *Tour* (p. 162) mentions the custom as still prevalent in the barony of Burren, co. Clare, in 1681: 'Here horses four abreast draw the plough by the tails, which was the custom all over Ireland, until a statute forbade it'; and Young found the practice yet in vogue in Cavan a century later (*Tour*, i. p. 292).

The Cities.

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[1] See Barnaby Rich's *New Description of Ireland*, chapter xvi., for an account of the observance of Sunday in Dublin at this period.

clothes should have suffered a hard life in the woods. Nay more, they furnished them even with swords, with guns, and with gunpowder, and all our arms; by which abominable act they made excessive profit, the rebels being sometimes in such want of munition as they would give whole herds of cows for a small quantity of munition, for they could easily recover cows again by rapine, but most hardly get supplies of arms and munition. And these arms the citizens used to buy of our cast captains, as powder from our soldiers having a surplusage of that which was allowed them for exercise of their pieces, and also underhand of traitorous under-ministers in our office of the Ordinance residing in their cities. And in like sort they furnished the rebels with our best victuals. For the ministers of our victuallers, under pretence of leave to sell victuals to the citizens if they feared it would grow musty, did often sell our best biscuit and victuals to the citizens, who secretly sold it to the rebels. These their abominable practices were well seen and greatly detested, but could not easily be remedied, the delinquents ever having colourable evasions, and especially because there was no forbidding the emption of munition to merchants upon pain of death (which was thought most necessary), except our stores of munition had then been, and had had sure hope to be, fully supplied, in regard that the winds are there so uncertain as the public stores not being continually furnished, an army might run great hazard before new supplies came if the merchants could no way relieve it. And this necessity of supplying our stores we found apparently at Kinsale, where as soon as our ships with men and munition were arrived, the wind turned, and still continued contrary till we took the town by composition, being more than six weeks.

Again, for the great privileges granted to the first English ancestors of these cities, more specially in all this discourse meaning Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, for Dublin was in part overawed by the Lord Deputy's residency, and Galway gave some good testimonies of fidelity in those dangerous times, I will show, by one or two instances, how the degenerate citizens of that time perverted the same to pernicious uses. Waterford had a privilege by charter from King John that they should not at any time be forced to receive any of the King's forces into the city. And when, upon their manifest rebellion at the very end of the last rebellion, the Lord Mountjoy, then Lord Deputy, bringing to their city the forces of our sovereign, King James, therewith to conform them to his Majesty's laws, they, alleging this charter, refused to receive any of the said forces into their city, his lordship vowed to cut King John's charter (as not grantable to such prejudice of his successors) with King James his sword, and to sow salt upon the soil of their destroyed city if they obeyed him not, and with much disputation and power hardly drew them from the ridiculous plea of the said charter.[1] Secondly, all fines for violating penal statutes of the admiralty and all others were by an old charter granted to the citizens, and in these days whereof I write, the citizens degenerated from English to Irish (or rather, to Spanish), if our magistrates imposed any fines upon delinquents, especially in cases for reformation of religion and the like, would privately remit those mulcts falling to the treasure of the city, which impunity made them offend the law without fear, as this and like immunities made them without danger of the law to transport prohibited wares, to parley with rebels, to export and import traitorous Jesuits in their ships, and to do manifold insolencies, while it was in the hand of the mayor and his brethren freely to remit all penalties imposed on delinquents. These and like privileges were in those days judged too great for any merchants, and most unfit for merchants of suspected fidelity (to say no worse). To conclude, these citizens were for the most part in those days no less alienated from the English than the very mere Irish, upon the same fore-alleged causes, as in one particular case of their community of language with the Irish I have showed, and could many ways illustrate, if I took any pleasure to insist upon that subject.

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[1] The charter seems even to have included a privilege not to admit his Majesty's judges of Assize into the city. In 1617 the charters of Waterford were found by a jury to be forfeited, and they remained in abeyance until 1626, when a new charter was granted by Charles I.

Errors imputed to the State by the English-Irish.

The English-Irish thus affected did generally in these times impute some errors to the state. First, that when any dissolute swordsman, for want, or for means to support his luxury, began to rob and spoil, and so to live in the woods for safety from the law—and there never wanted some like-affected persons, ready, upon the first rumour thereof, to fly unto the woods and live like outlaws with him, which small number the state might easily have prosecuted to death for example and terror to others—yet when these men had spoiled the country and all passengers, experience taught that the state, for fear of a small expense in prosecuting them, used upon their first submission to grant them protections to come in, and then not only to pardon them, but to free them from restitution of that they had robbed, so as good and quiet subjects might see their goods possessed by them, and yet could not recover them. Yea, nothing was more frequent than for the state to give rewards and yearly pensions to like seditious knaves, in policy (forsooth) lest they should trouble the peace, and put the state to charge in prosecuting them. So, as quiet and good subjects being daily wronged without redress, and seditious knaves being rewarded for not doing ill, and, as it were, hired to live as subjects, they said it was no marvel that so many dissolute persons swarmed in all parts of that kingdom. Galba, the Roman Emperor, in his oration to his soldiers expecting and murmuring for a largesse, or free gift, at his election, said bravely that he did enrol and not hire his subjects to serve in the war, but this free speech to a dissolute army cost him his life and empire; and such was then the miserable state of Ireland, as these corruptions could not altogether be avoided, though they savoured rather of a *precarium imperium*—that is, a ruling by entreaty and rewards, than absolute command over subjects.

But they further urged that these abuses grew from the corruption of the chief magistrates, for as he said well that no city was impregnable that would open their gates to give entrance to an enemy's ass laden with gold, so Ireland could not have firm peace while no man was so wicked who, for a bribe of cows[1] (such and no other are the bribes of the Irish) found that the Lord Deputy's followers and servants, yea, councillors of state, and (I shame to speak it) the very wives and children of the Lord Deputy ready to beg his pardon, who seldom or never missed to obtain it. They further urged that not only armed rebels were in this kind pardoned, but also that those taken and put in our prisons were commonly by like corruption freely pardoned, or suffered under hand to break prison, and then pardoned under pretence of the public good to save charges in prosecuting them, whereof they gave instances of O'Donell[2] breaking prison in the beginning, and Cormac MacBaron's eldest son in the end of the rebellion, and of many like rebels of note. So as nothing was more vulgarly said among the rebels themselves than that they could have pardon whensoever they listed, according to the poet:

Crede mihi, res est ingeniosa dare.
Believe, 'tis a most witty course, to give and bribe with open purse.

And touching the prisons, they said that the jailors of provincial and other prisons seldom brought their prisoners to be tried before judges, but some were executed by martial law, contrary to the dignity of civil justice; others they would affirm to be dead upon their bare word without testimony of the Crowner, or any like proceeding necessary in that case. Others they would affirm to have been freed by the command of provincial governors available rather by custom than law. Yea, they would not shame to confess some to have escaped by breaking prison, as if they were not to be punished for so gross negligence, admitting no excuse.

Touching the sacred power of pardons and protections they confessed that it was fit to give power of protection to military governors that they might bring rebels in to the state, but they alleged many corrupt abuses committed in that case, whereby not only armed rebels, but many taken prisoners, having once their protection, had means with safety of their persons to importune the state for obtaining their pardon in which kind MacCarthen, notorious for many murders, and many like notable villains, had lately been freed from the hand of justice. Again, they confessed that the general giving of protection and pardons by the Lord Deputy was necessary after the rebellion was grown strong and general, when it behoved the state (as a mother) with open arms to receive her disobedient children to mercy lest they should be driven to desperate courses, especially since the punishment of all was impossible in such a strong combination: that of the chief was difficult for their strong factions, and of particular and inferior offenders was somewhat unequal, if not unjust. But they freely said that our State had greatly erred in not making strong and sharp opposition to the first eruption of that rebellion before they were united, yea, rather dallying with them till by mutual combinations they were grown to a strong body, and that for saving of charges, without which it was hoped they might by fair treaties be reclaimed, which foolish frugality in the end caused an huge exhausting of the public treasure, and which vain hope had no probable ground, since the Irish attributed our moderate courses in reducing, rather than conquering them to our fear rather than our wisdom; waxing proud when they were fairly handled and gently persuaded to their duties, as no nation yields more abject obedience when they are curbed with a churlish and severe hand. How much better (said they) had our State done to have given no protection or pardon in the beginning, but to have severely put to death all that fell into our hands (which examples of terror were as necessary in Ireland as they ever had been rare), or if pity and mercy had been judged fit to be extended to any, surely not to those who after malicious and bloody acts of hostility were at last broken and unable longer to subsist, much less without some pecuniary mulct or fine towards the public charge, or with freedom from making restitution to private men, and, least of all, with rewards and pensions bestowed on them for a vain hope of future service. In all which kinds they gave many instances that our state had often erred. To conclude, they said that sharp and speedy prosecution in the beginning had been most easy (scattered troops being soon suppressed with small forces), and no less advantageous and profitable to the state (as well by the confiscation of their lands and goods as by long and firm peace likely to follow such terrifying examples of justice).

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[1] See Sir J. Davies's *Discovery*.

[2] If this refers to the escape of Hugh Roe O'Donnell from Dublin Castle on Christmas Eve 1591, it is difficult to understand. There is no evidence of official connivance at an escape which was a source of great embarrassment to Elizabeth's Irish Government.

Again, they bitterly imputed this error to our state, proved by many notable instances, that Irish and English-Irish, who had forsaken their lords in rebellion to serve in our army, after when their lords were received to mercy, with free pardon and restoring of honour and lands, had been quitted and left by us to live again under the same lords highly offended with them, and so never ceasing till they had brought them to beggary, if not to the gallows, which proceeding of ours in their opinion argued that, so we could keep the great lords in good terms, we cared not to forsake the weaker and leave them to the tyranny of the other. Yea, that to these great lords that of rebels were become subjects, our state granted warrants to execute martial law against vagabond and seditious persons, who upon the same pretences had often executed these men returning to them from the service of the state, and more specially those who had faithfully served us in the wars for spies, and for guides to conduct our forces through their bogs and woods and fortified places, or if they had not dared so to execute those men, yet by violent oppressions had brought them to beggary, and sometimes by secret plots had caused them to be killed. In this case, if I may boldly speak my opinion, I should think it were impossible so to protect inferior persons of best desert in time of peace from the tyranny of great lords, as they should no way oppress or hurt them either by their power which is transcendent, or by their craft wherein no people may compare with them. And as formerly I have spoken at large of oppressions done by their power, so I will give one notable instance of their tyranny by craft. The famous traitor Hugh, late Earl of Tyrone, used in his cups to brag that by one trick he had destroyed many faithful servants to the state, namely, by causing them underhand to be brought in question for their life, and then earnestly entreating the Lord Deputy and the judges to pardon them, who never failed to execute them whose pardon he craved. But why we should subject the servants of the state to the oppression of great lords that had been rebels, or why the state should upon any pretence grant them martial law (the examples of both which I confess were frequent and pregnant), I think no colourable reason can be given.

To be short, among many other errors they did much insist upon this. That our state, contrary to our law of England, yearly made such men sheriffs of the counties as had not one foot of land in the counties, and that they bought those places of the Lord Deputy's servants on whom he used yearly to bestow them; which made great corruption, since they who buy must sell. Yea, that these sheriffs were commonly litigious men to the county, who having many suits in law, bought those places to have power in protracting or perverting the justice of their own (as also their friends') causes, especially by making juries serve their turn. And most of all that these sheriffs, as having ill conscience of their own oppression, used yearly after the expiring of their offices, to sue out and obtain the King's general pardon under the great seal of Ireland, the bare seeking whereof implied guiltiness, so as the ministers of the state above all other men should be excluded from being capable to have these pardons who ought to be free of all dangerous crimes. Hereof myself can only say, that in England these pardons are not obtained without great difficulty; and that the Irish lords in and before the last rebellion complained of nothing more than the extortions and oppressions of these sheriffs, and their numerous trains and dependants, yet pretended the same for a chief cause of their taking arms.

Touching the general justice of Ireland, howsoever it was in the last rebellion tied hand and foot, yet of the former establishment thereof and the hopeful beginning to flourish at the end of the rebellion, something must be said.

The General Justice.

And first, in general, the English have always governed Ireland not as a conquered people by the sword and the conqueror's law, but as a province united upon marriage or like peaceable transactions, and by laws established in their parliaments with consent of the three estates. The supreme magistrate is the Lord Deputy (of whose power I have spoken) with the Council of State named and appointed in England, and these have their residence at Dublin. The next is the Lord President of Munster, with counsellors or provincial assistants, named and appointed by the Lord Deputy, with a chief justice and the King's attorney for the province, not having any courts of justice, but only assisting the Lord President at the council table, where, and likewise at Dublin, causes are judged by the Lord Deputy and the Lord President, as at the council table in England, according to equity with respect to the right of the law.[1] The province of Connaught was in like sort governed by a governor (after styled Lord President) with councillors to assist him, and among them a chief justice and the King's attorney, as in Munster, both governing in chief as well for military as civil matters, according to their instructions out of England, and the directions and commands from the Lord Deputy. The state proposed in like sort to establish the province of Ulster,[2] but at the end of the rebellion the Earl of Tyrone laboured earnestly not to be subject to any authority but that of the Lord Deputy, so as there only some governors of forts and counties (as in other parts of Ireland) had authority to compose differences between inferior subjects. The cities and towns had their subordinate magistrates, as mayors and sovereigns to govern them. But the courts for the common law for all Ireland were only at Dublin, as the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, as likewise the Chancery for Equity. And there the King's records were kept by a Master of the Rolls.[1] And all causes in these several courts were pleaded in the English tongue, and after the manner of the courts in London, save that Ireland of old times had made such frequent relapses to the sword, as the practice of the law was often discontinued, and the customs of the courts by intermission were many times forgotten, and the places being then of small profit were often supplied by unlearned and unpractised men.[2] And there also at the end of the war was erected the court of the Star Chamber. And there resided the chief judges of the whole kingdom, as the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Chief Justice, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who had not formerly the style of lords nor scarlet habits, both which were granted them after the rebellion ended, to give more dignity to the law.[3] All the counties had sheriffs for execution of justice yearly appointed by the Lord Deputy, only Ulster was not then divided into counties, as now it is, and hath the same officers.[4]

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[1] For an account of the powers and constitution of the President and Council of Munster, see the Instructions of the Lord Deputy to Sir George Carew, printed in *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 6-19. See also Gernon's account of the Council of the Munster presidency, p. 353 *infra*. See also Part I. p. 130, *supra*.

[2] The project for an Ulster Presidency was revived by Chichester in 1606 as an essential check upon Tyrone's proceedings in the province. This proposal was probably a proximate cause of the Flight of the Earls. See *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603-6, p. 482.

The Laws.

Touching the laws. The mere Irish from of old to the very end of the war had certain judges among themselves, who determined their causes by an unwritten law, only retained by tradition, which in some things had a smack of right and equity, and in some others was contrary to all divine and human laws. These judges were called

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[1] See Part I. pp. 33–6, *supra*.

[2] In a manuscript report to Sir Julius Cæsar on certain impediments to the King's service in Ireland, it is remarked that 'it hath pleased his Majesty to dignify the chief judges of his courts with honourable titles as they be in England, but the courts themselves are undignified again by the insufficiency of inferior clerks thereunto belonging.'—*Lansdowne MS.* 156, *No.* 6.

[3] 'By his Majesty's express direction all the judges go now in their robes after the manner of England.'—Lord Deputy and Irish Council to the Lords, May 27, 1606. *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1603–6.

[4] See Part I. pp. 127–8, *supra*.

Brehons, altogether unlearned, and great swillers of Spanish sack (which the Irish merrily called the King of Spain's daughter). Before these judges no probable or certain arguments were available to condemn the accused, but only manifest apprehensions in the fact. A murder being committed, these judges took upon them to be intercessors to reconcile the murderer with the friends of the murdered, by a gift vulgarly called Iriesh.[1] They did extort unreasonable rewards for their judgment, as the eleventh part of every particular thing brought in question before them. For the case of incontinency, they exacted a certain number of cows (which are the Irish rewards and bribes) from the married and unmarried, though they lived chastely (which indeed was rare among them), yet more for the married and unchaste than from others. Myself spoke with a gentleman then living, who affirmed that he had paid seven cows to these judges, because he could not bring witnesses of his marriage, when he had been married fifty years. Among other their barbarous laws, or rather customs and traditions, I have formerly spoken of their tenure of land, vulgarly called themistry, or tanistry, whereby not the eldest son but the elder uncle, or the most valiant (by which they understand the most dissolute swordsman), of the family succeeded the deceased by the election of the people, whereof came many murders and parricides and rebellions, besides great wrongs done to the state, as in this particular case:— If the predecessor, of free will or constrained by arms, had surrendered his inheritance to the King, and had taken it back from the King's grant by letters patents, upon rent and other conditions for the public good, they at his death made this act void, because he had no right but for life. By these judges and by these and like laws were the mere Irish judged to the end of the last rebellion, though the English laws had long before been received in Ireland by consent of the three states in Parliament.

For in the tenth year of King Henry VII.,[2] by the consent of the three states in Parliament, the barbarous Brehon judges and laws, and this particular law of themistry by name, were all abrogated, and the common law and statutes of Parliament made to that day in England, were all established in Ireland. And from the first conquest to that time and long after, the states of Ireland were called to the Parliament by the King's writs, and the laws there made were sent into England, and there allowed or deaded in silence by the King; and so the approved were sent back to the Lord Deputy, who accordingly confirmed them for Acts of that Parliament, and rejected the other by the king's authority, by which also the Lord Deputy, according to his instructions from the King, prorogued or dissolved the Parliaments. But if the worthy progenitors of our late kings should revive, and see the face of these Parliaments changed, and the very English-Irish backward to make laws of reformation, they would no doubt repent their wonted leniency in making them lawgivers to themselves, and freeing them from constraint in that kind. At first this government was fatherly to subjects being as children, but if they were now degenerated, should not the course of government be made suitable to their changed affections? No doubt if the King of Spain (whom then they adored as preserver of their liberty, and whose yoke then they seemed glad to undergo) had once had the power to make them his subjects, they should have learned by woeful experience that he should by the same power have imposed such laws on them as he thought fit, without expecting any consent of theirs in Parliament, and would quickly have taught them what difference ever was between the Spanish and English yoke. But if this course might in us seem tyrannical, the statesmen of that time judged it easy by a fairer means to bring them to conformity in a Parliament: namely, by a new plantation of English well affected in religion (who after the war might be sent in great numbers and find great quantities of land to inhabit), out of which men the Lord Deputy by the sheriff's and other assistance, might easily cause the greatest part of the knights of the shire and burgesses to be chosen for the swaying of the Lower House. As likewise by sending over wise and grave judges and bishops, and if need were by creating or citing new barons by writs (in imitation of King Edward III.), being men well affected to religion and the state, so to sway the Upper House.

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[1] Properly *eric.* See Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, i. pp. 7–11.

[2] Statutes 10th Henry VII. caps. xi. and xxiii.

The general peace after the rebellion (when Ireland was left as a pair of clean tables, wherein the state might write laws at pleasure) gave all men great hope that the laws should receive new life and vigour. Hitherto the barbarous lords at hand had been more feared and obeyed than the King afar off, and though they had large territories, yet neither themselves had raised answerable profit (at least by way of rent) nor the King's coffers had ever swelled with the fatness of peace. But the end of the war was the time (if ever) to stretch the King's power to the uttermost north, to bring the lords to civil obedience, to enrich them by orderly rents, and to fill the King's coffers out of their abundance. And indeed the courts of justice at Dublin began to be much frequented before our coming from thence, and shortly after each half year itinerant judges began to ride their circuits through all the parts of Ireland, and those who had passed through all Ulster to keep assizes there, made hopeful relation of their proceeding to the Earl of Devonshire, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, residing in the English Court, advertising him that in those sessions they had persuaded the lords to grant their tenants their land by freeholds, copyholds, and leases, that they might build houses, and clear the passes of their woods, to make free passage from town to town, and likewise to give the King a yearly composition of rents and services, and themselves abolishing the old tyrannical exactions called cuttings, to establish their yearly revenues by certain rents, which would be more profitable to them. That the lords seemed gladly to yield to these persuasions, and to establish certain rents to themselves, so they might be permitted after the old manner to make only one cutting upon their tenants for the payment of their debts. That they, the judges, had taught the inferior gentlemen and all the common people that they were not slaves but free men, owing only rents to their lords, without other subjection, since their lords as themselves were subject to a just and powerful king, whose sacred majesty at his great charge maintained them his judges to give equal justice to them both, with equal respect to the lords and to them for matters of right. That a great lord of Ulster named O'Cane, having imprisoned a tenant without legal course, they had not only rebuked him for usurping that power over the King's subjects, but howsoever he confessed his error publicly, and desired pardon for it, yet, for example, they had also imposed a fine upon him for the same. And that the inferior gentlemen and all the common people gladly embraced this liberty from the yoke of the great lords, and much applauded this act of justice upon O'Cane, promising with joyful acclamations a large composition of rents and services to the King, so this justice might be maintained to them, and they be freed from the tyranny of their lords. So as it seemed to the judges there remained nothing to content the people but a constant administration of this justice, with some patience used towards the people at first in bearing with their humours, among which they more specially noted these :—That they not only expected easy access to the Lord Deputy, the judges and the inferior magistrates, but were generally so litigious and so tedious in complaints as they could not be contented without singular patience. And that from the lords to the inferior sort they had a ridiculous fashion, never to be content without the magistrate's hand under their petitions, and therewith to be content were it never so dilatory, yea flat contrary to their request, which hand they used to sign though they knew the ill and crafty uses the Irish made of it, who coming home would show this hand to their tenants and adversaries, without reading the words to which it was set, and so pretending the magistrates' consent to their request, many times obtained from ignorant people their own unjust ends. Yet had not the law as yet that general and full course in Ireland which after it had by continuance of peace, and by that dignity which the King's majesty gave to the law, in granting the title of lords to the chief judges, and the scarlet robes to them all.

It remains to say something of the hands whereby the law was to be put in practice, namely the lawyers. They were either English, sent, or willingly coming out of England, more specially at the end of the rebellion, of whose concurring in the reformation of Ireland I make no doubt; or English-Irish, who of old, and now after the rebellion, in greater numbers pleaded most of the causes in the courts of justice. These English-Irish lawyers were always wont to study the common laws of England in the Inns of Court at London, and being all of the Roman religion (as the rest in Ireland), did so lurk in those Inns of Court as they never came to our churches, nor any of them had been observed to be taught the points of our religion there, but having got a smack of the grounds of our law, and retaining the old superstition in religion, they returned to practise the law in Ireland, where they endeavoured nothing more than to give the subjects counsel how they might defraud the King of his rights, and find evasions from penalties of the law, more specially in matters of religion, the reformation whereof they no less feared than the rest, and therefore contrary to their profession nourished all barbarous customs and laws, being the seeds of rebellion, and sought out all evasions to frustrate our statutes abrogating them, and tending to the reformation of civil policy and religion. For prevention of which mischief many thought in those times it were fit to exclude them from practice at the bars of justice, but since experience hath taught us how weak this remedy is, while the priests swarm there, combining the people, according to the rule of St. Paul, not to go to law under heathen magistrates, for such or no better they esteemed ours, and so reducing all suits of law, and the profit thereby arising, to the hands of the same lawyers in private determinations, whom the state excluded from public pleading at our bars; so as there is no way better to remedy this mischief than during their education at our inns of court in England to bring them to church, and teach them our religion, and after to punish some particular men that are of greatest practice and most refractory, by which examples, and the strict eye and hand of our magistrates seen to hang over them, this mischief might in time either be taken away or be made less general.

These lawyers taught the proud and barbarous lords of Ireland how they might keep the people of their countries in absolute subjection, and make them not only obey for fear of their power daily hovering over their heads, but also to think that their lords by right of law or equivalent custom had absolute command over their goods and bodies. By which and like means they not only gave strength to rebellious affections, but also made open resistance to all intended reformations, to their uttermost power seeking to root out the wise foundations to that end carefully laid by former ages, or at least to shake them and still keep them from any firm establishment. In this kind I will only give one instance. When Rory O'Donnell[1] at the end of the rebellion was come over into England, with the Lord Mountjoy (after created Earl of Devonshire), there to obtain the confirmation from the King's majesty of that pardon and grant of his brother's land[2] (the second arch-rebel) which the said lord had promised him at his submission while he was yet in England, and all that depended formerly on his brother, hovered between hope and fear how they and that country should be established, one of these lawyers employed there by the said Rory persuaded MacSwyne and O'Boyle, and other gentlemen of old freeholders in Tirconnell under the O'Donnells, that they had no other right in their lands but only the mere pleasure and will of O'Donnell. This the said gentlemen, though rude, and in truth barbarous, and altogether ignorant in our laws, not only denied, but offered to produce old writings to prove the contrary. When that fox perceived their confidence, and after heard that the said Rory had his pardon, and lands confirmed in England, and was moreover created Earl of Tirconnell, he essayed these gentlemen another way, telling them that the King having granted pardon, and all his brother's land to this new Earl of Tirconnell, they having yet no pardon had lost all their old right in their lands, were it freehold or at the lord's pleasure, or what other right soever, and so could now have no dependency but on the Earl's favour. Herein he told a triple lie: first, that he denied their right of freehold which was held to be most certain, though it had been abolished by long tyranny of the chief lord, and perhaps at first owed him some limited services, as Tirlogh MacHenry for the Fewes, and Henry Oge for his country, did both owe to the Earl of Tyrone, and all under lords in England owe to the lord paramount. Secondly, that he affirmed the whole province to be given to the Earl by the King, whereas it was granted in these express words, 'to hold to his Majesty's special grace in as ample manner as his brother held it before the rebellion' (in which he was as far engaged as his brother), which grant took not away the former right of freehold or other that any subject might pretend. Thirdly, that he restrained the King's gracious pardon as if it extended only to the Earl, when it was general to all the inhabitants of Tirconnell, restoring them all to their former rights. Yet by this shameful lie he obtained the unjust end he sought, to the great prejudice of the King's majesty's service, and of his subjects in Tirconnell. For these gentlemen and the rest of the people in that province being ignorant of the law, and afraid of every rumour, upon a guilty conscience of deserved punishment in their rebellion, and the new change of the state in England, were easily induced to renounce all their rights to the said Earl (though with great prejudice to themselves and ignominy to the justice of the state), and to receive their lands by new grants from the Earl as of his mere grace and favour. And howsoever the itinerant judges did after make known their error to them, and gave them hope this act would be reversed upon their complaint, yet they chose rather to enjoy their estates in this servile kind with the said Earl's favour, than to recover their rights and freedoms by course of law with his displeasure.

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[1] Rory O'Donnell, first Earl of Tyrconnel, 1575–1608.

[2] Hugh Roe O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnel, 1571–1602

Again these lawyers in all parts of Ireland taught the people artificial practices to defraud the king of his rights, in services due to the lords of their fees in his Court of Wards, and liveries, intrusions, alienations, yea in very confiscations of goods and lands, the preservation whereof to the heirs will always make the possessor more prone to treasons and all wickedness. For the truth whereof I appeal to all friends and servants of former Lords Deputies, who have obtained any such gifts of wards, intrusions, alienations and confiscations; for they well know what tedious suits, crafty circumventions, and small profit they have found thereby. And I appeal to the manifold conveyances of lands by feoffees of trust, and all crafty devices, nowhere so much used as in Ireland. Insomuch as nothing was more frequent than for Irishmen, in the time of our war with Spain, to live in Spain, in Rome, and in their very seminaries, and yet by these and like crafty conveyances to preserve to them and their heirs their goods and lands in Ireland, yea very spiritual livings for life, not rarely granted to children for their maintenance in that superstitious education, most dangerous to the state.

Civil and Capital Judgments and Laws of Inheritance.

I formerly showed that King Henry VII. established the English laws in Ireland, yet the common law, having not his due course in the time of the rebellion, most civil causes were judged according to equity at the council tables, as well at Dublin as in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, and by military governors in several counties. And for these laws of England, the most remarkable of them shall be explained in the discourse before promised of the commonwealth of England.[1]

In like sort the laws of England were for capital matters established in Ireland, but during the rebellion and at the end thereof the martial law was generally used, hanging up malefactors by withes instead of ropes upon their first apprehension. In cases of treason the great lords of the kingdom were of old judged by the assembly of the three states in Parliament; but since Henry VII.'s time they are tried as in England, the lords being beheaded, and others hanged, drawn and quartered. As in England so there, not only treasons but wilful murders and felonies are punished by death and confiscation of lands and goods. By the law in England, so in Ireland, the accessory cannot be tried before the principal be apprehended and brought to his trial, so as the principal escaping, receivers cannot be judged. And so for other capital laws of England, which shall be at large set down in the foresaid treatise. The English laws of inheritance are likewise of force in Ireland, the elder brother having right to the lands of descent, and the father's last will disposing purchased lands and goods among his wife and children, and the wife being widow, besides her part that may be given her by her husband's last will, having the jointure given her before marriage, and if none such were given her, then having right to the third part of his lands for her life.

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[1] The discourse of the Commonwealth of England was never written; or, if written, has been lost. It was intended, according to the prospectus in the folio of 1617, to form chapter ix. of Part IV., Book I.

The Degrees in the Commonwealth.

Touching the degrees in the commonwealth; not to speak of the offices of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord High Treasurer, giving place above all degrees of nobility, the highest degree is that of Earls. And the Earl of Ormond in this time whereof I write was Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and knight of the noble Order of the Garter in England. The next degree is that of Barons.[1] And in general, as the degrees of the Irish nobility in England give place to all the English of the same degree, so do the English to the Irish in Ireland. But howsoever the Irish lords, to make their power greater in peace, are content to have the titles of earls and barons, yet they most esteem the titles of O and Mac set before their surnames, after their barbarous manner (importing the chief of the sept or name), as

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[1] It is curious that Moryson omits the title of Viscount, which, first used in England in 1440, was known in Ireland as a degree of honour as early as the reign of Henry III. The title of Gormanston, the first Irish viscounty created by patent, dates from 1478.

O'Neale, O'Donnell, MacCarthy, and the like. And these names they used to resume when they would lead the people into rebellion. The title of Knights Baronets was not then known in Ireland. They have no order of knighthood like that of the Order of the Garter in England,[1] and the like in other kingdoms, but only, as in England, such knights as are made by the sword of the King, or of the Lord Deputy there, who always has the power, by his permission from the King, to make any man knight whom he judges worthy of that dignity.[2] The poorest of any great sept or name repute themselves gentlemen, and so will be swordmen, despising all arts and trades to maintain them; yet such is the oppression of the great lords towards the inferior sort, the gentlemen and freeholders, as I have seen the chief of a sept ride, with a gentleman of his own name (and so learned as he spoke Latin) running barefooted by his stirrup. The husbandmen were then as slaves, and most exercised grazing, as the most idle life, using tillage only for necessity.

The Degrees in the Family.

Touching the degrees in the family. The citizens of Munster, as in Waterford, Limerick, and more specially in Cork, and they of Galway in Connaught, upon the law forbidding marriage with the mere Irish, and especially to keep the wealth of the city within the walls thereof, have of old custom used to marry with their own citizens, whereby most of the families and private branches of them were in near degree of consanguinity one with another, frequently marrying within the degree forbidden by the law of God. And the married women of Ireland still retain their own surnames, whereas the English, losing them utterly, do all take the surname of their husbands. The men hold it disgraceful to walk with their own wives abroad, or to ride with their wives behind them.

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[1] The Order of St. Patrick is, it need hardly be noted, of quite modern origin, having been instituted as late as 1783.

[2] This delegated power was exercised with great frequency by the Lords Deputies during the period of which Moryson writes. Between February 28, 1599–1600 and May 29, 1603, Mountjoy created twenty-six knights. His deputy, Sir George Carew, created as many as fifty-one between June 1603 and December 25, 1604. *Catalogue of Knights made by Charles, Lord Mountjoy, etc.* Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4784, f. 95. And see Metcalfe's *Book of Knights.*

The mere Irish divorced wives, and with their consent took them again frequently, and for small, yea ridiculous, causes, always paying a bribe of cows to the Brehon judges, and sending the wife away with some few cows more than she brought. And I could name a great lord among them, who was credibly reported to have put away his wife of a good family and beautiful, only for a fault as light as wind (which the Irish in general abhor), but I dare not name it, lest I offend the perfumed senses of some whose censure I have incurred in that kind. The more civil sort were not ashamed, and the mere Irish much less, to own their bastards, and to give them legacies by that name. Insomuch as they have pleasant fables of a mother, who upon her deathbed (according to their above-mentioned custom); giving true fathers to her children, and finding her husband offended therewith, bade him hold his peace, or else she would give away all his children. As also of a boy, who seeing his mother give base fathers to some of his brethren prayed her with tears to give him a good father. The children of the English-Irish, and much more of the mere Irish, are brought up with small or no austerity, rather with great liberty, yea licentiousness. And when you read of the foresaid frequent divorces, and generally of the women's immoderate drinking, you may well judge that incontinency is not rare among them ; yea even in that licentiousness they hold the general ill affection to the English, sooner yielding those ill fruits of love to an Irish horse-boy than to any English of better condition ; but how their priests triumph in this luxurious field let them tell who have seen their practice.

Of their Military Affairs.

It remains to speak something of their military affairs. Their horsemen are all gentlemen (I mean of great septs or names, how base soever otherwise), and generally the Irish abhor from using mares for their saddle, and indeed they use no saddles, but either long, narrow pillions bumbasted or bare boards of that fashion. So as they may easily be cast off from their horses, yet being very nimble do as easily mount them again, leaping up without any help of stirrups, which they neither use nor have, as likewise they use no boots nor spurs.[1] They carry weighty spears, not with points upwards, resting them on their sides or thighs, but holding them in their hands with the points downwards, and striking with them as with darts, which darts they used to carry, and to cast them after their enemies when they wheel about; these spears they use to shake over their heads, and by their sides carry long swords, and have no defensive armour but only a morion on their heads. They are more fit to make a bravado and to offer light skirmishes than for a sound encounter. Neither did I ever see them perform anything with bold resolution. They assail not in a joint body but scattered, and are cruel executioners upon flying enemies; but otherwise, howsoever they make a great noise and clamour in the assault, yet, when they come near, they suddenly and ridiculously wheel about, never daring to abide the shock. So as howsoever the troops of English horse by their strong second give courage and strength to their foot companies, yet these Irish horsemen basely withdrawing themselves from danger are of small or no use, and all the strength of the Irish consists of their foot, since they dare not stand in a plain field, but always fight upon bogs and passes of skirts of woods, where the foot being very nimble come off and on at pleasure, and if the enemies be fearful upon the deformity and strength of their bodies or barbarous cries they make in the assault, or upon any ill accident show fear and begin to fly, the Irish foot without any help of horse are exceeding swift and terrible executioners, in which case only of flying or fearing they have at any time prevailed against the English. And how unprofitable their horse are, and of what small moment to help their foot, that one battle at Kinsale did abundantly show, where the Irish horse and foot being encouraged by the Spaniards to stand in the plain field, the horse were so far from giving the foot any courage or second, as for fear they break first through their own bodies of foot, and after withdrawing themselves to a hill distant from the foot as if they intended rather to behold the battle than to fight themselves, by this forsaking of their foot they might justly be said to be the chief cause of their overthrow. Their horses are of a small stature, excellent amblers, but of little or no boldness and small strength either for battle or long marches, fit and used only for short excursions in fighting and short journeys, and, being fed upon bogs and soft ground, are tender-hoofed, and soon grow lame used upon hard ground. So as our English horsemen, having deep war saddles and using pistols as well as spears and swords, and many of them having corslets and like defensive arms, and being bold and strong for encounters and long marches, and of greater stature than the Irish, our troops must needs have great advantages over theirs.

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[1] See as to Irish saddles and stirrups, Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, ii. pp. 414, 419.

Touching their foot, he that had seen them in the beginning of the rebellion so rude—as being to shoot off a musket, one had it laid on his shoulders, another aimed it at the mark, and a third gave fire, and that not without fear and trembling—would have wondered, in short time after, to see them most bold and ready in the use of their pieces, and would have said that the Spartans had great reason who made a law never to make long war with any of their neighbours, but after they had given them one or two foils for strengthening of their subjection, to give them peace, and lead their forces against some other, so keeping their men well trained, and their neighbours rude, in the feats of war. But when the Earl of Tyrone first intended to rebel, he used two crafty practices. The first, to pretend a purpose of building a fair house (which we hold a sure argument of faithful hearts to the state), and to cover it with lead, whereby he got license to transport a great quantity of lead out of England, which after he converted to make bullets. The second, to pretend to join his forces in aid of the English against the first rebels which himself had put forth, whereby he got our captains, with licence of the state, to train his men, who were after called 'Butter Captains' because they and their men lived upon cess in his country, having only victuals for their reward. And surely, howsoever some of the English state lightly regarded the frequent rebellion of the Irish, thinking them rather profitable to exercise the English in arms than dangerous to disturb the state; yet woeful experience taught us that the last rebellion wanted very little of losing that kingdom. The Irish foot in general are such as, I think, men of more active bodies, more able to suffer cold, heat, hunger, and thirst, and whose minds are more void of fear, can hardly be found. It is true that they rather know not than despise the rules of honour observed by other nations; that they are desirous of vainglory, and fearful of infamy, appears by their estimation of their bards or poets, whom they gladly hear sing of their praise, as they fear nothing more than rhymes made in their reproach. Yet because they are only trained to skirmish upon bogs and difficult passes or passages of woods, and not to stand or fight in a firm body upon the plains, they think it no shame to fly or run off from fighting, as they advantage (and indeed at Kinsale, when they were drawn by Spaniards to stand in firm body upon the plain, they were easily defeated). And because they are not trained to keep or take strong places, they are easily beaten out of any forts or trenches, and a weak house or fort may easily be defended with a few shot against their rude multitude. Divers kinds of foot use divers kinds of arms. First, the Galliglasses are armed with morions and halberts. Secondly, the Kerne and some of their footmen are armed with weighty iron mails and jacks, and assail horsemen aloof with casting darts, and at hand with the sword. Thirdly, their shot, which I said to be so rude in the beginning of the rebellion as three men were used to shoot off one piece not without fear, became in few years most active, bold, and expert in the use of their pieces. All these foot assail the enemy with rude barbarous cries, and hope to make them afraid therewith, as also with their nakedness and barbarous looks, in which case they insist violently, being terrible executioners, by their swiftness of foot upon flying enemies, never sparing any that yield to mercy; yea, being most bloody and cruel towards their captives upon cold blood, contrary to the practice of all noble enemies, and not only mangling the bodies of their dead enemies, but never believing them to be fully dead till they have cut off their heads. But after the English had learned to abide their first assault firmly and without fear, notwithstanding their boldness and activity, they found them faintly to assail, and easily to give ground when they were assailed, yet never could do any great execution on them upon the bogs and in woods, where they were nimble to fly, and skilful in all passages, especially our horse there not being able to serve upon them. To conclude, as they begin to fight with barbarous cries, so it is ridiculous and most true that when they begin to retire from the skirmish, some run out to brawl and scold like women with the next enemies, which sign of their skirmish ending and their retiring into the thick woods never failed us.

Of their Shipping.

Touching the ships in Ireland, they had then no men-of-war, nor merchants' ships armed, only some three or four trading for Spain and France carried a few iron pieces for defence against pirates in our Channel that might assail them in boats, and they were all under one hundred tons burthen. The rest of their ships were all of much less burthen, serving only to transport passengers to and fro, and horses and merchandise out of England, little or nothing being carried out of Ireland in time of the rebellion. And these were not many in number, the English ships most commonly serving for those purposes. So, as little can be said of their mariners for navigation, only by the general nature of the people, I suppose, that they being witty, bold, and sluggish, if they had liberty to build great ships for trade, they were like to prove skilful and bold in navigation, but never industrious in traffic. It is true that the arch-traitor Tyrone, upon his good successes, grew at last so proud, as in a treaty of peace he propounded an article, that it might be lawful for the Irish to build great armed ships for trade, and men-of-war for the defence of the coast; but it was with scorn rejected by the Queen's Commissioners. Lastly, I think I may boldly say, that no island in the world hath more large and commodious havens for the greatest ships—and whole fleets of them—than Ireland hath on all sides; excepting St. George's Channel, which hath many flats, and the havens there be few, small and barred, or unsafe to enter; for, otherwise in one-third part of Ireland, from Galway to Killybegs in the north, it hath fourteen large havens, whereof some may receive two hundred, some three hundred, some four hundred great ships, and only two or three are barred and shallow, besides divers large and commodious havens in Munster.

Having spoken particularly of their horse and foot and shipping, I will add something in general of the Irish wars.

In general of the Irish Wars.

It hath been observed that every rebellion in Ireland hath grown more dangerous than the former, and though mariners are industrious and vigilant in a tempest, yet the English have ever been slow in resisting the beginnings of sedition, but as mariners sleep securely in calms, so the English having appeased any rebellion, ever became secure without taking any constant course to prevent future dangers in that kind. In this last rebellion I am afraid to remember how little that kingdom wanted of being lost and rent from the English Government, for it was not a small disturbance of peace or a light trouble of the state, but the very foundations of the English power in that kingdom were shaken and fearfully tottered, and were preserved from ruin more by the Providence of God out of His great mercy (as may appear by the particular affairs at the siege of Kinsale) than by our counsels and remedies (which were in the beginning full of negligence, in the progress distracted with strong factions, and to the end slow and sparing in all supplies), so as if the Irish soldiers which were at first unskilful (and ought to have been so kept in true policy of state) as in short time they grew skilful and ready in the use of the piece, the sword and other arms, and very active and valiant in light skirmishes, had likewise attained the discipline of war to march orderly and fight upon the plain, to assault and keep forts, and to manage great ordnance (which they neither had nor knew to use); if the barbarous lords, as they were full of pride, some vaunting themselves to be descended from the old kings of Ireland, so had not nourished factions among themselves, but had consented to choose a king over them, after their many good successes, more specially after the defeat of Blackwater (when it was truly said of the Earl of Tyrone that the Romans said of Hannibal after the defeat of Cannæ, 'Thou knowest to overcome, but knowest not to make use of thy victory'); not to speak of the Providence of God even miraculously protecting our religion against the papists; no doubt in human wisdom that rebellion would have had another end than by the grace of God it had. And it was justly feared that if constant serious remedies were not used to prevent future eruptions, the next rebellion might prove fatal to the English state.

Now that I may not seem forward to reprove others, but negligent in observing our own errors, give me leave to say boldly, and to show particularly, that the following and no other causes brought upon us all the mischiefs to which the last rebellion made us subject. When any rebel troubled the state our custom was, for saving of charges, not to suppress him with our own arms, but to raise up some of his neighbours against him, supporting him with means to annoy him, and promoting him to greater dignities and possessions of land, and if he were of his own blood, then making him chief of the name (which dignity we should constantly have extinguished since nothing could more disturb peace than to have all septs combined under one head). And these neighbour lords thus raised never failed to prove more pernicious rebels than they against whom they were supported by us. One instance shall serve for proofs: that of the Earl of Tyrone, raised by our state from the lowest degree against his kinsman Tirlogh Linnagh,[1] whom the Queen too long supported, even till his men were expert in arms, and too highly exalted, even till he had all his opposite's power in his hand, which he used far worse than the other, or any of the O'Neales before him. In our state *parcatur sumptui*, let cost be spared, were ever two most fatal words to our government in Ireland, as by this and that which follows shall plainly appear. When the rebellion first began we, to save charges, not only used the Irish one against the other, but long forbore to levy English soldiers, vainly thinking to reduce them by treaties. When the rebellion was increased we, to save charges in transporting English soldiers, raised whole companies of English-Irish, and as our captains had trained Tyrone's men while he pretended service to the state, so now we trained in our army all the English-Irish, giving them free use of arms, which should be kept only in the hands of faithful subjects. This raising of whole companies of foot and troops of horse among them, was a great error, for they once having gotten the use of arms we durst not cast them, lest they should fall to the rebels' party. Perhaps their social arms might have been useful if we had mixed them in our companies, and that in small limited numbers, but we not only raised whole bands of them, and all of one sept or name (easily conspiring in mischief), and used their service at home (where they would now draw blood upon any neighbour sept and lived idly upon their own provisions, putting all the Queen's pay into their purses, which might have been prevented by employing them in remote places), but sometimes trusted them with keeping of forts, for which service they are most unfit, though we doubted not of their faithfulness, justly then suspected, yea, further weakened all our own bands and troops by entertaining them. For an English troop of horse sent out of England, commonly in a year's space was turned half into Irish (having worse horses and arms and no saddle, besides the loss of the English horsemen) only because the Irish would serve with their own horses and could make better shift with less pay. And in like sort our English bands of foot were in short time filled with English-Irish, because they could make better shift for clothes and meat, with less pay from their captains.

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[1] Turlough Luineach O'Neill was long the rival of Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, for the succession to the position of Shane O'Neill as chief of his name.

In all the war we only used the English-Irish for horse-boys, who were slothful in our service, and little loved us, but having learned our use of arms, and growing of ripe years, often proved stout rebels. To conclude these errors, I confess that the English-Irish served valiantly and honestly in our army, whereof many times a third part consisted of them, but many particular events taught us that these our counsels were dangerous, and made us wish they had been prevented at first, though in the end for necessity we made the best use we could of the worst.

Other great abuses, though less concerning the Irish in particular, were committed in our army. The munitions in great part was of sale wares, as namely the tools for pioneers, and muskets slightly made to gain by the emption, which our officers might have shamed to see compared with those the Spaniards brought to Kinsale. Our powder and all munitions were daily sold to the rebels by divers practices, for sometimes the under-officers of the Ordinance there would sell some proportions of divers kinds of munition to citizens or ill-affected subjects, and sometimes the cast captains, commonly using to appropriate to themselves the arms of their cast soldiers, did sell them to the citizens, and sometimes the common soldier, having a proportion of powder allowed him for exercise of his piece, sold to the citizens whatsoever he could spare thereof, or of the powder left him after skirmishes, and all these munitions sold to the citizens were by them underhand conveyed to the rebels, who would give more for them than they were worth. In like sort the contractors serving the army with victuals, having obtained from the council in England liberty to sell to the citizens and poor subjects such victuals as were like to grow mouldy, their servants in Ireland many times, while they served the army with mouldy biscuit and cheese, did underhand sell the best to such citizens and subjects, by whom it was conveyed to the rebels. For reforming of which abuses, command was given out of England that some offenders should be detected, and severely punished for example, and that the citizens should be forbidden upon great penalty to buy any munition upon pretence to sell it to subjects, who should rather be served out of the public stores, and that the victuallers should be restrained from selling any victuals, or because that could not be without great loss to the public state in allowing great waste, that faithful overseers at least might be appointed to view what was mouldy, and to whom it was sold. But these abuses were not detected till towards the end of the rebellion, so as the remedies too late prescribed were never put in execution.

Again, one great mischief did great prejudice to us, that our stores were not always furnished aforehand, so as the moving of our army was often stayed till the munition and victuals arrived, which is most dangerous, especially in Ireland, where winds out of England are very rare, and blow contrary half a year together; whereof we had experience at Kinsale, where as soon as our soldiers, munition and victuals were happily arrived, the wind turned presently to the west, and blew no more out of England till the Spaniards had yielded upon composition.

Again, our provant master for apparelling the soldier dealt as corruptly as the rest, not sending half the proportion of apparel due to the soldier, but compounding for great part thereof with the captains in ready money, they having many Irish soldiers who were content to serve without any clothes so good as the allowed price required. The provant masters thus compounding with the captains, they contented the soldiers with a little drinking money, which the Irish desired rather than clothes, not caring to go half naked, by whose example some of the English were drawn to like barbarous baseness. So as in a hard winter siege, as at Kinsale (and likewise at other times), they died for cold in great numbers, to the grief of all beholders. Again, we had no hospitals to relieve the sick and hurt soldiers, so as they died upon a small cold taken, or a prick of the finger, for want of convenient relief for few days till they might recover.

Thus however they wanted not excellent chirurgeons and careful of them, yet particularly at the siege of Kinsale, they died by dozens on a heap, for want of little cherishing with hot meat and warm lodging, notwithstanding the Lord Deputy's care, who had imposed on his chaplain the task to be as it were the sick soldiers' steward, to dispense a good proportion of victuals ready dressed for comfort of the sick and hurt soldiers, at the charitable alms of the captains above the soldiers' pay. Where a king fights in the head of his army, such brave soldiers as ours were could not have suffered want, but deputies and generals, though honourable and charitable persons, cannot go much beyond their tether. To conclude, nothing hath more preserved the army of the United Netherlanders than such public houses, where great numbers have been recovered, that without them must needs have perished.

Lately Guicciardini writes that the Popes are more abused in their musters of soldiers than any other prince; which may be true compared with the frugal Venetians, and states of the Low Countries, and with armies where the prince is in prison. But I will boldly say that Queen Elizabeth of happy memory, fighting by her generals, was incredibly abused in the musters of her army, both in the Low Countries and France, and especially in Ireland, where the strongest bands of one hundred and fifty by list never exceeded one hundred and twenty by poll at the taking of the field, upon pretence of ten dead pays allowed the captain for his servants waiting on him, and for extraordinary pays he might give some gentlemen of his company, as also for sick soldiers left in his garrison, besides that many times the strongest bands were much weaker by wanting of supplies of Englishmen to fill them. But they were far more weak at pretence of men dead in the summer service, yet were the coming out of the field and retiring of garrisons upon checks nothing answerable to the deficient numbers, wherein the Queen was much wronged, paying more than she had, and her general served with great disadvantages, being reputed to fight with greater numbers in list, when he had not two-third parts of them by poll, yet scarce half of them, considering the men taken out of the army for warders in castles and forts. It is a pity the Pope's should not be much more abused in; but temporal princes, to whom the mystery of arms properly belongeth, ought carefully to prevent this mischief to pay men in list who are not to be found by poll when they should fight. And more specially in forts, where the covetous captains abating their numbers, and passing their false musters by bribery, lie open to the enemies' surprisal, as besides many other examples we found by the destruction of our garrison at the Derry in O Dogherty's rebellion, where the captain wanted many of his number, and of those he had, many were English-Irish, serving for small pay, to whom the keeping of forts should not be committed. The Queen, to prevent this mischief, increased her number of commissaries, but that was only to increase the captain's bribes, not the number of his men. Therefore some thought the best reformation would be, if the pay formerly made to the captain for his whole band were paid by a sworn commissary to the soldiers by poll, and those commissaries exemplarily punished upon any deceit, whose punishment the soldier would not only well, besides that the apparel provided by them was nothing near induce [?], but joyfully applaud. Others thought the pay should still be made to the captains as honourable persons, so their deceit were punished by note of infamy, and cashiering out of employment, in which case their honour being dear to them, they would either not offend, or few examples of punishment would reduce all to good order in short time.

Reformation intended at the end of the last Rebellion.

Having largely written of all mischiefs grown in the government of Ireland, I will add something of the reformation intended at the end of the last rebellion. The worthy Lord Mountjoy (as I have mentioned in the end of the second part of this work) having reduced Ireland from the most desperate estate, in which it had ever been since the Conquest, to the most absolute subjection, being made as a fair pair of tables wherein our state might write what laws best fitted it; yet knowing that he left that great work imperfect and subject to relapse, except his successors should finish the building whereof he had laid the foundation, and should polish the stones which he had only rough hewed; and finding every rebellion in Ireland to have been more dangerous than the former, and the last to have wanted little of casting the English out of that kingdom, was most careful to prevent all future mischiefs. To which end (howsoever his designs were diverted), I dare boldly say, both from his discourse with nearest friends and from the papers he left, that he projected many good points of reformation, whereof these few that follow are worthy to be remembered.

First, to establish the maintenance of some necessary forts planted within land remote from seas and rivers, the warders whereof might clear all passes (or passages of bogs and woods), and might not only keep the Irish in awe, but be to the state as it were spies to advertise all mutinous and seditious inclinations. Also, to plant like garrisons upon such havens as be easy and commodious for the descent of foreign enemies. And because the cities (especially of Munster) having large privileges granted to the first English inhabitants (as, namely, the profit of fines and penal statutes) had many ways abused them in the last rebellion, to the prejudice of the commonwealth (as, namely, in remitting to the delinquents all fines and penalties imposed on them for transporting and importing Jesuits and priests and prohibited wares), and also because these cities in the rebellion, had nourished the same by secret practices, and in the end thereof had by open sedition in the cause of religion forfeited their charters, his lordship purposed to procure the cutting of many exorbitant privileges in the renewing of their charters, and likewise the establishing of forts with strong garrisons upon those cities which had showed themselves most false-hearted and mutinous, more specially Cork and Waterford, who had denied entrance to the King's forces, and were only reduced by a strong hand from their obstinate sedition, without which forts he thought the cities would neither be kept in obedience for the safety of the army, nor be brought to any due reformation in religion.

But howsoever Dublin was no less ill-affected in the cause of religion than the rest, yet he thought it sufficiently restrained by the residency of the Lord Deputy in the Castle, and great numbers of English that lodged in the city attending upon the state. For the forts within land[1] he hoped they would in short time become towns well inhabited, as was found by experience in the old forts of Leix and Ophaly, and in some new forts in Ulster, and that they would much strengthen the state, so great caution were had that only English soldiers should keep them, and that by faithful musters they were kept strong, so as the covetousness of captains might not lay them open to surprisal, either by taking Irish soldiers serving for less pay, or by wanting their full numbers of warders; and that, as the garrisons were to have land allotted and many privileges granted to them, so constant care was taken to keep them from spoiling the country by severe discipline. Again, for the forts, because he feared the soldiers could not be kept from making affinity by marriage with the neighbouring Irish, and for that the captains and officers were likely to entertain the Irish for soldiers and servants as content with small or no wages, whereby the forts could not but be subject to betraying, as likewise for that the captains were likely, in time, by letters patents from the state, to appropriate to themselves the land allotted to each fort for the public use of the garrisons, and for divers like reasons, more specially for that the continual sound of drums and trumpets was dissonant from a commonwealth peaceably governed, his lordship thought these forts were not like to yield such strength to the state as the planting of faithful colonies. And so his lordship in the second place purposed to persuade the reformation of the old colonies and the leading of new into that kingdom, both to be planted upon the sea coasts and upon rivers and navigable lakes lying upon the sea, forcing the Irish to inhabit the country within land, whereby these colonies might be free or more safe from their assaults, and not only be easily relieved out of England, but grow rich with foreign traffic. And to this purpose to exchange inland possessions pertaining to the old colonies or belonging to the King with such Irish as then had their lands upon the sea coasts, rivers, and lakes, giving them greater proportions of ground to make them better content with this exchange. Some advised in this exchange to give the Irish also those spiritual livings which they held by custody as vacant at that time, but this course was thought to overthrow the foundations of all good reformation that must begin with religion, which could not be established without settling a learned and honest clergy, nor they be maintained without these livings. But because the Irish and English-Irish were obstinate in Popish superstition, great care was thought fit to be taken that these new colonies should consist of such men as were most unlike to fall to the barbarous customs of the Irish, or the Popish superstition of Irish and English-Irish, so as no less cautions were to be observed for uniting them and keeping them from mixing with the other than if these new colonies were to be led to inhabit among the barbarous Indians. In which respect caution was thought fit to be had, that these new colonies should not consist of obstinate papists, nor criminal fugitives, cut-purses, and infamous women, or persons rather drawn out to cleanse England of ill members, than to reduce Ireland to civility and true religion, but of honest gentlemen and husbandmen to inhabit the country, and honest citizens and merchants to inhabit the cities, with women of good fame, and especially learned and honest preachers and ministers for them both. That the citizens, consisting of noble and plebeian families, should build and fortify cities upon the rivers and lakes, to be thoroughfares for the whole kingdom, all other by-passages through woods and desert places being shut up, so as thieves and malefactors might more easily be apprehended, and all cattle being not otherwise to be sold or bought than in the public markets of cities, all thefts and rapines might easily be detected, and the barbarous people seeing the citizens to live plentifully under good government, and to grow rich by trades and traffic, might in time be allured to embrace their civil manners and profitable industry. That the gentlemen inhabiting the adjoining countries should dwell in castles of stone, and not keep their husbandmen under absolute command as tenants at will, but grant them freeholds, copyholds, and leases, with obligation to maintain horse and foot, and to rise up with them for defence of the country from thefts and incursions. And in case England was not able to supply these colonies, or the English (as less industrious) were not thought so fit for this purpose, without others joined with them, then his lordship judged the Netherlanders most fit to be drawn to this work as a people most industrious, peaceable, and subject to just command, and abounding with inhabitants, but straitened by not having large territories. Many other cautions were projected for the quality of these colonies, as that they should not dwell together in great numbers of one sept or name, nor should consist of bordering people used to live like outlaws upon spoil, and one sept to have deadly quarrels and hatred (as it were by inheritance) with another. That they should be a free people like the Flemings, and used to live of themselves like them and the Italians, not used to the absolute command of lords after the servile manner of Ireland, which dependency makes them apt to follow their lords into rebellion and private quarrels. That they should be such as were not used to live in smoky cottages and cabins, or to go naked and in ragged apparel, but in commodious houses and decently attired, that so they might not be apt to fall to the Irish manners, but rather to bring them to civility. That they should be planted in remote places from their native home lest in seditions they might easily draw their neighbouring friends and countrymen to take part with them. Finally and especially, that they should be soundly affected to the reformed religion.

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[1] The provision of a system of forts throughout the kingdom, designed by Mountjoy, was perfected under Chichester's government. Sir Josias Bodley was appointed overseer of fortifications. Several of his reports are extant among the State Papers.

Thirdly, because his lordship knew all endeavours would be in vain if civil magistrates should think by fair means without the sword to reduce the Irish to due obedience (they having been conquered by the sword, and that maxim being infallible that all kingdoms must be preserved by the means by which they were first gained, and the Irish especially being by their nature pliable to a hard hand, and jadish when upon the least pricking of provender the bridle is let loose upon them): therefore it was thought fit that the Irish should not only bear no arms in the pay of the state (which should ever be committed to the hands of most faithful subjects), but should also have all private arms taken from them till by Parliament it might be agreed what use of swords or pieces were fit to be granted some men by privilege for grace and ornament, or for necessary use as for fowling and like uses. And howsoever this disarming of the Irish could not well be done during the rebellion, when the Council of England commanded it, because the submitted Irish should thereby have been left a prey to the spoiling of those that were still in rebellion, yet nothing seemed more fit and easy to be done when the rebellion was fully appeased, and our conquering army hovered like falcons over the heads of any that should dare to resist. And likewise that law of reformation should be enacted by Parliament if either the Irish would consent or could be overtopped by the voices of the new colonies and bishops, or otherwise should be imposed by absolute power, as no doubt the King of Spain would do upon any his subjects in like case, to whose subjection the Irish seemed then strongly affected. Fourthly, for the last alleged reason, his lordship purposed to procure that the English army should be continued in some strength till religion were reformed, whereof I shall treat in the last chapter of the next book, and till the King's revenues, customs and tributes were established, whereof something must here be added.

Of old the customs of exported or imported merchandise were very small, the people having few commodities to export, and desiring not to have more imported than wines and such things for necessity, upon which things the ancient kings imposed small or no customs, in regard the conquered Irish were basely poor, and content with any apparel, yet with nakedness, and with milk and butter for food, and for that it was fit the English-Irish should have immunity from such burthens, thereby to draw more inhabitants into that kingdom. For which reason also the tolls within land and the rents of the King's lands of inheritance were of small value, and both they and the customs, yea the very fines of penal statutes were for rewards of service given, or let upon a small rent to the English-Irish cities, and lords of countries. In the last rebellion the whole revenues of the kingdom, amounting to some thirty thousand pounds yearly, were so far from defraying the charge of the army as it cost the state of England one year with another, all reckonings cost up, between two and three hundred thousand pounds yearly above the revenue. And the rebellion being appeased, when the army was reduced to 1,200 foot, and some 400 horse, yet the charge of these small forces, and the stipends of magistrates and judges, exceeded the revenues some forty-five thousand pounds yearly. But due courses being taken in this time of peace, it was thought the revenues might be much increased, than which nothing was more necessary. The Irish cows are so stubborn, as many times they will not be milked but by some one woman, when, how, and by whom they list. If their calves be taken from them, or they otherwise grow stubborn, the skins of the calves stuffed with straw must be set by them to smell on, and many fooleries done to please them, or else they will yield no milk. And the inhabitants of that time were no less forward in their obedience to the state than their beasts were to them. But I would gladly know from them by what right they challenge more privilege than England hath, why they should not bear the same tributes and subsidies that England beareth, and why so rich a kingdom should be so great a burthen to the state of England, and not rather yield profit above the charge thereof. One lord of the county of Carbery[1] being in rebellion maintained one thousand rebels against the state, who after becoming a subject was hardly drawn to serve the state with thirty foot at the invasion of the Spaniards, and yet thought he deserved thanks and reward for that poor supply. I cannot wonder enough, how the lords of Ireland can be so kind in their own affections as having maintained some 15,000 men in rebellion, they should think much in time of peace to pay the stipends of magistrates and judges, and to maintain the small remnant of the English army, being some 1,200 foot and under 500 horse. Of old after the first conquest, when Ulster was obedient to the state, that province alone paid 30,000 marks yearly into the Exchequer, and besides (as many relations witness) maintained some thousands of foot for the state service, yielding also timber to build the King's ships, and other helps of great importance to the state. No doubt Ireland, after the rebellion appeased, was in short time like to be more rich, and happy in all abundance, than ever it had been, if the subjects would delight in the arts of peace; and the fertility of Ireland yieldeth not to England if it had as many and as industrious inhabitants. In summer it hath less heat than England, which, proceeding from the reflection of the sun upon the earth, is abated by the frequent bogs and lakes (which, together with raw or little roasted meats, cause the country diseases of fluxes and agues fatal to the English), but this defect might be helped by the industry of husbandmen draining the grounds, and may hinder the ripening of some fruits, but no way hurts the corn, though perhaps it may cause a later harvest than England hath. Again in winter, by the humidity of sea and land, Ireland is less subject to cold than England, so as the pastures are green, and the gardens full of rosemary, laurel and sweet herbs, which the cold of England often destroyeth. It passeth England in rivers and frequent lakes abounding with fish, whereof one lake [river] called the Bande [Bann] yieldeth 500*l.* yearly rent by fishing. The havens from Galway to Calebeg [Killybegs], a third part of the kingdom, are fourteen in number, whereof some will receive two hundred, some three hundred, some four hundred great ships, and only two or three of them are barred and shallow, and all these with the other harbours, creeks, and seas on all sides of Ireland abound with plenty of excellent fish, if the inhabitants were industrious to get them for food and traffic.

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[1] A district in West Cork.

For the increasing of the King's customs in time by insensible degrees, it was thought the Irish were not likely to repine much thereat, since that burthen grieveth none that are content with native commodities, and affect not foreign luxuries, but they have been little used to taxes and tributes upon their land, and have ever kicked at the least burthen in that kind for the service of the state, only bearing it cheerfully for their own ends, as to support the Popish religion, and to maintain agents in England, to plead for that and other clamorous grievances. Howsoever the question is not how willingly they will yield profit to the King, but how it may be most commodiously raised. To which purpose in regard the wealth of Ireland consists especially in cattle and victuals, and wanted nothing more than money, the best relations of the Irish estate in those times of the rebellion appeased, though not so fit to raise it by new compositions of all countries, and increasing the old, as by making Ireland only to bear the charge of the magistrates' and judges' stipends, and moreover (as it were) a nursery for some competent English forces, extracting old soldiers from thence upon occasion of service, and sending new men to be trained up in their place. This done, whereas foreign enemies heretofore thought Ireland the weakest place wherein England might be annoyed, henceforward, they would rather dare to invade England than Ireland thus armed. And the rents by compositions would be a trifle in respect of this profit of cessing soldiers. By cessing[1] I mean the allotting of certain numbers to each city and shire to be maintained by them, who would be as so many spies to observe their parlies and conspiracies, and as garrisons in towns to keep them in awe, whither they might be sent in greater or less numbers as the public service required. Provided always that this cessing should be to the King's profit only, not (as it was in the last rebellion) for the captain's profit, who took all the profit thereof without taking a penny less pay from the state, or making any satisfaction to the subjects, though they had their hands to charge them. As this cessing was thought to be most profitable to the state (easing it of the army's charge, especially for victuals, whereof the public stores could never be replenished but with far greater expense than any compositions were like to yield), so was this kind of charge most easy for the Irish abounding in victuals. Provided that the soldiers were restrained from extorting by violence more than should be due to them, and the due provision were gathered by orderly course. For prevention whereof, and for the soldiers' safety, they should not lie scattered in the country, but together in garrisons, yet not leaving it in the power of the Irish to starve them, but they fetching in victuals aforehand, if according to order it were not brought to them. Provided also, that the soldiers travelling for any service should in like sort be restrained from extortions. When the rebellion was ended, and the English army in strength, this course was thought easy to be settled, and if at any time after the state should think fitter to receive yearly rents it was not doubted but this course for a time would after make the people glad to raise their compositions so as the cessing might be taken away. And by this practice we see that France hath of late raised great tributes, increasing them upon new burthens of war, and so making the most seditious to abhor troubles, and love peace.

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[1] The evils of cessing are fully discussed in Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*.

Then it was projected that commissioners should be sent over out of England, to view such lands, for which small or no rent had long been paid to the King, upon false pretence that they lay waste. To raise the rents of those undertakers in Munster, to whom the Queen having granted to some three thousand, to some more, acres of good land for small rent, or they having bought it at second-hand at so easy a price, as some of them raised as much profit in one year as paid the purchase, and they having broken all their covenants with the Queen, not peopling the land with English tenants, nor having English servants, but using the Irish for both, as serving upon base conditions, and not building their castles, but suffering the old castles to go to ruin, and so in the rebellion being betrayed by their own Irish men, and having no English to serve the state, or keep their own possessions, were forced upon the first tumults to quit their lands, or charge the Queen with warders to keep their castles, for which causes, if their estates were not taken from them upon breach of covenants, yet at least they deserved to be charged with greater rents. To tie them strictly to be observing hereafter of all covenants, for the public good, upon pain to forfeit their grants. To dispose for the King's best profit all concealed lands given to superstitious uses, which were thought of great value. To dispose of spiritual lands and livings by custody to the King's profit, for a time till a learned clergy might be settled. To rate the cessing of soldiers in Ulster, where it was thought the people would willingly bear any reasonable burthen, so they might be freed from the great lords' tyranny. To do the like in other parts of the kingdom, at least for a time, since if after yearly rents were thought more commodious the people would more willingly raise the compositions to be freed from this cessing, and maintaining of garrisons. Lastly, to raise the customs by degrees, and to consider what privileges of cities, or of private men, for that present deserving little of the state, were fit to be cut off, or restrained.

By these means it was thought no difficult thing in few years highly to raise the King's revenues, and to reform in some good measure the civil and ecclesiastical policy. Provided that these commissioners, being of the best sort for nobility and experience, were after the first reformation continued still in that employment, and sent over once in five years, or like space of time, to visit that kingdom, especially for administration of justice, yet by the way (with arts of peace, and by degrees) for settling and increasing the

King's revenues, which we see daily and wisely to have been done in England. Thus the Irish, bearing common and equal burthen with the English, should have no just cause to complain, and finding rebellions to increase their burthens would be taught to love peace; the English should be eased from bearing the wonted burthen of their seditions; the King should have means in Ireland to reward his magistrates and servants in that kingdom. And it was hoped such treasure might in time be drawn out of Ireland as might in some measure repay the great expenses England hath heretofore disbursed to keep Ireland in peace, without raising any least profit from a conquered kingdom.

The Conclusion.

To conclude, as I have taken the boldness plainly and truly to give some light of the doubtful state of Ireland about the time of the last rebellion, so methinks no Irish or English-Irish of these times should take offence at any things I have written if they be clear from the ill affections wherewith those times were polluted (I mean in general, since I have not concealed that some of them deserved well in those worst times). And for all other men I trust that in their love to truth and for the use may be made of this plain narration in future times, they will pardon any rudeness of style or errors of judgment which I may have incurred. God is my witness that I envy not to the English-Irish any wealth, liberty, or prerogative they may justly challenge, nor yet to the mere Irish a gentle and moderate government, so the English-Irish had the noble and faithful hearts of their progenitors towards the Kings of England, or that leniency would make the Irish more obedient, which heretofore hath rather puffed them with pride and wanton frowardness. But as they were both in those times very disobedient (if not malicious) to the State of England, I have been bold to say that things so standing, England ought to use power where reason availeth not. Nothing is so proper as to rule by force whom force hath subjected. To keep the Irish in obedience by arms who were first conquered by arms, and to use the like bridle towards the English-Irish, who degenerating became partners in their rebellions. To impose laws on them by authority for the public good, whom reason cannot persuade to make them by consent for their own good. To reform the old colonies deformed by their own faults, and to establish them by planting new. And to take the sword out of madmen's hands, for such are they that use arms against those that armed them. All subjects must be kept in duty by love or fear; love were better towards both, and especially the English-Irish; but the mere Irish are more pliable to fear, and such of the other as by habit have gotten their barbarous affections must be manacled in the same chain with them. Reformation is necessary; neither of them admits any. We must reform, and that will gall them, and their pride in those times was likely to make them kick. It remained that, by constant counsel and all honest means, we should take from such subjects all power to wreak their malice. For to use remedies sufficient to provoke them to anger, and to withhold those that might suppress their fury, were great folly. In a word, nothing is more dangerous than middle counsels, which England of old too much practised in Ireland. To what purpose are good laws made, if the people cannot be led or forced to obedience? A man in those days might more easily lead bears and lions than the Irish. If Orpheus himself could not make those stones and trees dance after his harp, then Hercules and Theseus must make them follow their clubs. The marshals must make them feel punishment whom philosophers and lawgivers find without all feeling of their public good. Let any man who hath been served with Irish footmen in sober sadness tell me the truth, if he have not always found them most obedient (by general experience) under a hard hand, but stubborn and froward towards their masters as soon as they are well clothed and set on horseback, for they are all in their opinion and they all will be gentlemen, which poverty made them forget. This properly belongs to the mere Irish, but such of the English-Irish as are become of that nature must be content to be joined with them, till they return to English manners and affections. Some of our old governors wisely observed this nature of the Irish, and practised the right course to bridle it, proclaiming their commands at the point of the sword. Such was the Lord Gray, in the late Queen's reign Lord Deputy of Ireland, who knew best of all his predecessors to bridle their fierce and clamorous nation.[1] Such was Sir Richard Bingham,[2] though only a subordinate governor of the province of Connaught, who with a handful of soldiers, and a heavy hand of justice, taught us what reformation might be wrought this way if it were constantly and sincerely followed. But I know not upon what grounds of policy the counsellors of our state in those days did not approve their actions. For the complaints of the subdued Irish (which no nation can more skilfully frame to gain, or at least tie, their judges, they being always clamorous, but in adversity as abject suppliants as proud enemies in prosperity)—I say their complaints found such pity in the royal (may I with leave say womanly?) breast of the late famous Queen, and such favour with the lords of her council (perhaps desiring the present, rather than durable peace of that kingdom), as these late rebels were sent back comforted for their losses with fair promises; and the magistrates, recalled into England, reaped heavy reproof for their merited reward. So as their successors, either terrified by that ill success or ambitious to gain the hearts of the Irish (at which the counsels of the next Deputy seemed to aim), or upon vain hope to reduce that nation to obedience by leniency, did in all judicial causes so much respect the Irish, as to that end they spared not to lay unequal burthens sometimes on the English. Thus new magistrates bringing new laws and counsels wrought that confusion which they sought to avoid. For one Deputy was sharp and severe, another affable and gentle, whereas in all good governments, howsoever the magistrates are changed, the face of justice should constantly remain one and the same. And what prejudice to the commonwealth this course hath of old wrought in Ireland particularly experience hath made manifest. God grant that hereafter we may at least (according to the Latin proverb) grow wise with the wounded fisherman, and as in the last rebellion we were good Epimethei, to discern (by the sense of ill accidents) the true causes thereof, so hereafter we may become provident Promethei, in diverting foreknown dangers, before they fall heavily upon us.

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[1] Arthur, 14th Baron Grey de Wilton (1536–93), was Lord Deputy of Ireland 1580–2. It was as his secretary that Edmund Spenser came to Ireland.

[2] Sir Richard Bingham (1528–99) was appointed Governor of Connaught in 1584. His vigorous methods were successful, but severe, and brought him into conflict with the Deputy, Sir John Perrot.

C

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF IRELAND

OF IRELAND: TOUCHING NATURE AND MANNERS, BODIES AND WITS, MANUAL ARTS, SCIENCES, UNIVERSITIES, LANGUAGE, CEREMONIES, PARTICULARLY IN MARRIAGES, CHILD-BEARINGS, CHRISTENINGS, AND FUNERALS; AND ALSO OF THEIR DIVERS CUSTOMS, PASTIMES, EXERCISES, PARTICULARLY OF THEIR HUNTING, HAWKING, FOWLING, BIRDING AND FISHING.

In this chapter I will speak of the mere Irish. Only I will say for the English-Irish that they may be known by the description of our English at home. But as horses, cows, and sheep transported out of England into Ireland do each race and breeding decline worse and worse, till in few years they nothing differ from the races and breeds of the Irish horses and cattle, so the posterities of the English planted in Ireland do each descent grow more and more Irish, in nature, manners and customs, so as we found in the last rebellion divers of the most ancient English families, planted of old in Ireland, to be turned as rude and barbarous as any of the mere Irish lords. Partly because the manners and customs of the mere Irish give great liberty to all men's lives, and absolute power to great men over the inferiors, both which men naturally affect. Partly because the mere Irish of old overtopped the English-Irish in number, and nothing is more natural—yea, necessary—than for the less number to accommodate itself to the greater. And especially because the English are naturally inclined to apply themselves to the manners and customs of any foreign nations with whom they live and converse, whereas the mere Irish by nature have singular and obstinate pertinacity in retaining their old manners and customs, so as they could never be drawn, by the laws, gentle government, and free conversation of the English, to any civility in manners or reformation in religion.

Now to return to the mere Irish. The lords, or rather chiefs of countries (for most of them are not lords from any grants of our kings, which English titles indeed they despise), prefix O or Mac before their names in token of greatness, being absolute tyrants over their people, themselves eating upon them and making them feed their kern, or footmen, and their horsemen. Also they, and gentlemen under them, before their names put nicknames, given them from the colour of their hair, from lameness, stuttering, diseases, or villainous inclinations, which they disdain not, being otherwise most impatient of reproach, though indeed they take it rather for a grace to be reputed active in any villainy, especially cruelty and theft. But it is strange how contrary they are to themselves, for in apparel, meat, fashions, and customs they are most base and abject, yet are they by nature proud and disdainful of reproach. In fighting they will run away and turn again to fight, because they think it no shame to run away and to make use of the advantage they have in swift running; yet have they great courage in fighting, and I have seen many of them suffer death with as constant resolution as ever Romans did. To conclude this point, they know not truly what honour is, but according to their knowledge no men more desire it, affecting extremely to be celebrated by their poets, or rather rhymers, and fearing more than death to have a rhyme made in their disgrace and infamy. So as these rhymers—pestilent members in that commonwealth—by animating all sorts by their rhymes to licentious living, to lawless and rebellious actions, are so much regarded by them as they grow very rich, the very women, when they are young and new married, or brought to bed, for fear of rhymes giving them the best apparel and ornaments they have.

The Irish are by nature very factious, all of a sept or name living together, and cleaving close one to another in all quarrels and actions whatsoever, in which kind they willingly suffer great men to eat upon them, and take whatsoever they have, proverbially saying Defend me and spend me; but this defence must be in all causes, just or unjust, for they are not content to be protected from wrong, except they may be borne out to do wrong.

They are by nature extremely given to idleness. The sea coasts and harbours abound with fish, but the fishermen must be beaten out before they will go to their boats. Theft is not infamous but rather commendable among them, so as the greatest men affect to have the best thieves to attend upon them; and if any man reprove them, they answer that they do as their fathers did, and it is infamy for gentlemen and swordsmen to live by labour and manual trades. Yea, they will not be persuaded that theft displeaseth God, because He gives the prey into their hands, and if He be displeased, they say, yet He is merciful and will pardon them for using means to live. This idleness makes them also slovenly and sluttish in their houses and apparel, so as upon every hill they lie lowsing themselves, as formerly in the discourse of the Commonwealth.[1] I have remembered four verses, of four beasts that plague Ireland, namely, lice upon their bodies, rats in their houses, wolves in their fields, and swarms of Romish priests tyrannising over their consciences. This idleness also makes them to love liberty above all things, and likewise naturally to delight in music, so as the Irish harpers are excellent, and their solemn music is much liked of strangers; and the women of some parts of Munster, as they wear Turkish heads and are thought to have come first out of those parts, so they have pleasant tunes of Moresco dances.

They are by nature very clamorous, upon every small occasion raising the hobou (that is a doleful outcry), which they take one from another's mouth till they put the whole town in tumult. And their complaints to magistrates are commonly strained to the highest points of calamity, sometimes in hyperbolical terms, as many upon small violences offered them have petitioned to the Lord Deputy for justice against men for murdering them, while they stood before him sound and not so much as wounded.

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[1] See p. 241 *supra*.

In the late rebellion we found the Munster men to betray the Earl of Desmond, their chief leader, into our hands, for their own pardons and rewards of money. But howsoever the state by public proclamation did set a great reward upon the head of Tyrone to any should bring his head, and a greater to any should bring him alive, yet the northern men could not be induced by any rewards of money or pardons for their own estates and lives to betray him—no, not when themselves were driven to greatest misery, and he forced to hide his head in the woods without any forces, and only was followed by some few of his most trusty vassals. In like sort by experience we reputed the northern men of better nature and disposition to peace, to civil government, and reformation of religion than the Munster men, at that time rebels. For howsoever the northern men followed their lords with all their hearts and powers in rebellious and unlawful actions, yet they did it because they lived by them, and had feeling of their power ready at hand to do them good or hurt, and had formerly no knowledge of the King's power and justice, but far off, and not ready to support and protect them in their obedience, whereas the Munster men had long lived happily under the protection of the state and English laws. Yea, when the wars were ended and the English judges went their circuits through all Ireland, the northern people more obediently and more joyfully than any other received the English laws and government to protect them from the oppression of great lords and their swordsmen. And howsoever the northern men were generally Papists, yet we considered that they must be so or of no religion, having not formerly been taught any other, whereas the rebels of other parts, by long conversation with the English and living among them, had formerly had great opportunity to be well instructed in religion and civil manners.

It is an old saying,

> *Rustica gens optima flens, pessima ridens.*
>
> The country clowns are best when they do weep,
> And worst when they in plenty laugh and sleep.

And this saying may more truly be spoken of the Irish than any other nation. For nothing more brings them to obedience than poverty, and heretofore they never had plenty but presently they rushed into rebellion. For particular experience, let them witness who have kept Irish footmen, if ever they could bring any of them on foot again whom once they had set on horseback, and if they have not had better service from them whom they kept most bare in apparel or money, and most subject to correction, than from those they kept most bountifully and used most freely and gently. [[1] They are by nature superstitious, and given to use witchcrafts. The approved author by Mr. Camden,[2] cited in his own words, saith they salute the new moon with bended knee, saying to it 'Leave us as sound as thou findest us.' He adds incantations they use against wolves, their opinions that some one shall die if they find a black spot upon a bared mutton bone, and their horses shall live long if they give no fire out of the house, and that some ill-luck will fall to their horses if the rider, having eaten eggs, do not wash his hands after them, or be not careful to choose the eggs of equal bigness. That they are much offended if a man commend their cattle, except withal he say God save them, or else spit upon them. That some men's eyes bewitch their horses, and if they prove lame or ill, old women are sought for to say short prayers and use many incantations to recover them. That if a man fall on the ground, he useth to turn thrice about towards his right hand, and to dig up a sod of earth with his sword or knife, to prevent ill-luck.

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[1] The passage in brackets has not been printed by Mr. Hughes in *Shakespeare's Europe*.

[2] See the account of the native or wild Irish in the chapter on 'The Ancient and Modern Customs of the Irish' in Camden's *Britannia*. This chapter first appeared in the sixth edition published in 1607. The author, a priest named Good, was a contemporary of Moryson.—Camden's *Britannia*, edition of 1722, p. 1415.

That they use many like incantations when they go to fight. That women divorced bewitch the men putting them away for the disability of generation, and many diseases against which men use the help of witches. But I will omit many other superstitions and witchcrafts which he there relates. . . . The same author relates that the Irish were great swearers and forswearers, presuming upon God's mercy, and that to make them keep faith there was no other means but to have them swear before the altar, upon a book opened and laid upon their head, and to swear by some saint or with kissing of a bell, or to swear by the head of the lord of their country which they most feared. Because those lords used to extort cows from them for perjuries, as having therein abused their names.]

The bodies of men and women are large for bigness and stature, because they are brought up in liberty and with loose apparel, but generally the very men are observed to have little and ladylike hands and feet, and the greatest part of the women are nasty with foul linen, and have very great duggs, some so big as they give their children suck over their shoulders. The women generally are not strait-laced, perhaps for fear to hurt the sweetness of breath, and the greatest part are not laced at all. Also the Irish are generally observed to be fruitful in generation, as at Dublin in the time of the last war, it was generally known for truth that one of the Segers,[1] while she lodged in the house of Mistress Arglas, bore five children at one birth, and we all know an alderman's wife that bore three at a birth, with many like examples.

For the wits of the Irish, they themselves brag that Ireland yields not a natural fool, which brag I have heard divers men confirm, never any to contradict. My honoured lord the late Earl of Devonshire till his dying day kept an Irishman in fool's apparel, and commonly called his lordship's fool; but we found him to have craft of humouring every man to attain his own ends, and to have nothing of a natural fool. But for the Irish generally they are subtle temporisers, and because they have been used to frequent change of governors, if they cannot attain their own ends, they labour by all shifting devices to delay their adversaries prevailing against them till a new governor be sent, as crafty Davus in the comedy, thinking he had done well to put off his young master's marriage but for one day, hoping that some new impediments might therein arise. They are crafty to observe their governors' humours, and to present to them at their first coming causes of justice formerly determined against them, from whom if they can get (while they are yet unpractised in the affairs) any new decree contrary or differing from the old, they will not cease to make new trouble to their adversaries. Yea many, getting the governor's hand to their petitions, though nothing to their favour, yet have made such use of it with their adversaries at home as if it had been an absolute grant of their requests. If they can fasten upon their governors any bribe (which is always cows), they hold them as slaves for ever. And if they will not be corrupted, but execute justice against them, then are they most clamorous in complaints to the supreme magistrate, or to the State in England, and when the inferior governors are called to Dublin, or the Lord Deputy recalled into England, they fly after them with open throats to load them with false calumnies, especially if these governors happen to be in any disgrace with the state, or have any great enemies at home glad to back their complaints.

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[1] Perhaps Segrave.

Arts, Sciences, Universities, Languages.

[[1] Touching manual arts I have showed that the Irish are most slothful, the swordmen holding it infamy to labour, but none to steal, which may suffice for that point. We read that in the very primitive Church Ireland yielded many and learned men called monks, but far differing from those of the Roman Church at this day. Yet I should think they were rather esteemed for holiness than for learning in sciences. For howsoever the Irish are naturally given to religion (which was holiness in them, but grown to superstition in their successors), and are also naturally given to a monkish life of ease, yet what learning they had there was gotten among the Britains and Scots. For I read not of any universities or public schools the Irish had of their own, and their natural disposition to this day makes me think they were not laborious in the study of sciences. In succeeding ages they grew more and more superstitious and ignorant, their priests, monks, and bishops growing generally illiterate, except some few in latter times bred in the universities of the Roman religion, whereof very few or none were of profound learning. And their common lawyers likewise were bred in the Inns of Court in London. But at the end of Tyrone's rebellion, the late famous Queen Elizabeth having founded a college or university near Dublin for education of the Irish, many of whom have therein attained to good reputation of learning, and some few have been reputed in the profession of divinity (for which the said college was chiefly founded) equal to the best and most learned doctors of England, as no doubt they want not wit to attain learning when they will be industrious. And since that time (besides the fruits and hopes of this university) the kingdom hath out of England been fully furnished with many learned and grave bishops, and as well judges as inferior pleaders of the common law.

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[1] The remainder of this chapter is now printed for the first time.

Touching the Irish language. It is a peculiar language, not derived from any other radical tongue (that ever I could hear, for myself neither have nor ever sought to have any skill therein); but as the land, as I have showed, hath been peopled by divers nations besides the first inhabitants, so hath the tongue received many new words from them, especially Spanish words from the people coming thence to inhabit the west parts. But all I have said hereof might well be spared, as if no such tongue were in the world I think it would never be missed either for pleasure or necessity.

Touching ceremonies of state or of civil actions, the mere Irish being barbarous, and loving so to continue, cannot be acquainted with them, which they affect not. For marriage

Ceremonies, particularly Marriage, Child-bearing, Christenings, Funerals, Divers Customs.

I will only say of the English-Irish that they keep it orderly as in England, save that in respect of the law forbidding them to marry with the mere Irish, the citizens taking wives within their own walls were grown to be all of kindred one with another, and so forced to marry those of near kindred. . . .[1]

Touching child-bearing, women within two hours after they are delivered, many times leave their beds to go fop and drink with women coming to visit them; and in our experience a soldier's wife delivered in the camp did the same day, and within few hours after her delivery, march six miles on foot with the army to the next camping place. Some say that commonly the women have little or no pain in child-bearing, and attribute the same to a bone broken when they are tender children; but whatever the cause be, no doubt they have such easy deliverance, and commonly such strange ability of body presently after it, as I never heard any woman in the world to have the like; and not only the mere Irish, but most of the English-Irish dwelling in the cities. Midwives and neighbours come to help women to be delivered commonly more for fashion than any great need of them; and here is no talk of a month's lying-in, or solemn churching at the end of the month, as with us in England. They seldom nurse their own children, especially the wives of lords and gentlemen (as well mere Irish as English-Irish). For women of good wealth seek with great ambition to nurse them, not for any profit, rather spending much upon them while they live, and giving them when they die sometimes more than to their own children. But they do it only to have the protection and love of the parents whose children they nurse. And old custom is so turned into a second nature with them as they esteem the children they nurse more than their own, holding it a reproach to nurse their own children. Yea, men will forbear their wives' bed for the good of the children they nurse or foster, but not nursing their own. Yea, the foster-brothers—I mean the children of the nurse and strangers that have sucked her milk—love one another better than natural brothers, and hate them in respect of the other. And by frequent examples we have seen many mourn for their foster-brothers much more than they would have done for their natural brothers; and some to oppose their own brothers to death that they might save their foster-brothers from danger thereof. The worst is that these nurses with their extreme indulgence corrupt the children they foster, nourishing and heartening the boys in all villainy, and the girls in obscenity.

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[1] A few sentences as to the morality of mere Irish, taken directly from Camden's *Britannia*, are omitted here.

In christenings and like rites of religion they use generally the rites of the Roman Church, the which they persist with obstinacy, little care having been taken to instruct them in the reformed doctrine. But in all things they intermix barbarous customs, as when the child is carried to be baptised they tie a little piece of silver in the corner of the cloth wherein the child is wrapped, to be given to the priest, and likewise salt to be put in the child's mouth. And at christenings they have plenty of drink and of flesh meats to entertain the friends invited. Yea, among the very English-Irish remaining Papists, the father entertains the guests, though he be a bachelor and have disvirgined the mother, for it is no shame to be or to beget a bastard. Banquets of sweetmeats are unknown to the mere Irish, and the nurses are rather beneficial to the children they foster than receive anything of them or their friends (as in the Commonwealth above written I have showed in the abuse of fostering children, both among the mere Irish and also among the English-Irish).

Touching funerals, when they be sick, they never speak to them of making any will, neither care they to have any made, for the wife hath the third of goods, and the children the rest divided amongst them, and the land, after their law of tanistry, (which they willingly observe rather than the English) is commonly possessed by the most active and powerful of the sept and kindred, bearing all one sirname; so as the uncles on the father's side or the mother's many times invade it, excluding the sons. Neither do they who visit the sick person speak aught to him of good counsel, for his soul's health, which sad discourses they think like to increase his sickness, taking it for a desperate sign of death if the sick person desire to receive the sacrament. But all their speeches tend to mirth and hope of recovery; and the sick person hath about him many lights and great show of company, as if thereby they could keep him from death. Whereof I remember an English gentleman, who, seeing a sick lord of great quality thus surrounded with lights and hundreds of men and women attending in his own and the next chamber, said merrily to a friend: 'If this man think not better of repentance than he doth, all this light and company cannot keep him from the hands of death and the devil.' And when the sick person draweth to the point of death, the near friends and all the company call and cry out to him, as if they would stay his soul from departing by remembering the goodness of the wife or husband and children, and the wealth and friends to be left behind him, reproaching him with unkindness in forsaking them, and asking whither and to whom he will go to be in better case than he is with them. When the sick person is dead they make a monstrous cry, with shrieking, howling, and clamping of hands; and in like sort they follow the dead body at the burial, in which outcries the nurse, the daughters and the concubines are most vehement. The women especially and children do weekly visit the graves of their dead friends, casting flowers and crosses upon them, with weeping and many prayers for the dead. In like sort, with outcries, they bewail those that die in the war, and in stealths or taking preys, though they think the death of them more happy than any other. The septs of one name carry deadly feud towards the man who kills any of their name, and towards all that are of the same name or sept of him who killed him.

Touching divers customs, they seldom eat wild fowl or fish, though they have great plenty of both, because they will not take pains in catching them, and so leave them all for the English. They gladly eat raw herbs, as watercresses and shamrocks, and most commonly eat flesh, many times raw; and if it be roasted or sodd, they seldom eat bread with it or any meat, holding him a churl who hath any bread left after Christmas, save that they keep most of their corn for their horses, whereof they take special care. They drink much usquebagh, which is the best *aqua vitæ*[1] in the world, and much sack, but seldom any claret wine. They swallow lumps of butter mixed with oatmeal, and often let their cows blood, eating the congealed blood with butter, and love no meat more than sour milk curdled.[2] In their frequent drinkings and those feasts of flesh, not only the mere Irish, but also the old inhabitants of English-Irish have the German fashion of putting frolics about the table, as pinching and kissing over the shoulders, and many strange ways, and the manner is to sup where you dine.

Generally, or most commonly, the men go bare-headed, except they wear a steel helmet; but they wear long curled hair, which both men and women nourish long and take pride in it, especially if it be yellow. The men wear long and large shirts, coloured with saffron, a preservation against lice, they being seldom or never washed. The men wear short coats and straight trousers, or breeches, and both men and women wear long mantles for the uppermost garment, which the men at night cast into the water, and so upon the ground sleep in them cast over their heads. The women wear many yards of linen upon their heads, as the women do in Turkey; and wear so many bracelets and necklaces, as rather load than adorn. The men, as well mere Irish as the old inhabitants of the English-Irish, hold it a shame to go abroad or walk with their wives, and much more to ride before them on horseback. They hold it a disgrace to ride upon a mare.

. . . .

As conquered nations seldom love their conquerors, so in those times Shane O'Neill, the great lord of the North, is said to have cursed his people, at his death, if any of them should build houses or shire towns, to invite the Englishmen to live among them. And in most customs they affected to be contrary to the English. Myself have heard a worthy old captain, who had served long in Ireland, relate some forty customs clean contrary to the English, which I have now forgotten and therefore will only instance one or two of them, namely that women took horse on the contrary side to the Englishmen, with their faces turned the contrary way, and that the Irish used no harness or traces for horses drawing in the plough or drawing sledges with carriage, but only fastened the plough and the carriage by withes to the tails of the horses (or garrans, for so they call them), whereby the tails of them are commonly pulled off, and the very rumps bared. To omit the rest which I cannot remember, we generally observed that not only the women of the mere Irish, but also the old English-Irish, who could speak English as well as ourselves, yet durst not speak it with us if their husbands or their fathers were present. They keep the old calendar, and only the cities have clocks, and keep them as we do in England.

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[1] See note at p. 226 *supra*.

[2] See note on bonnyclabber, p. 230 *supra*.

Pastimes, Exercises, Hunting, Hawking, Birding, and Fishing.

Touching pastimes. They exceedingly delight in playing at cards and dice, especially at dice; and professed gamesters go about, carrying cards and dice with them,[1] and they will not only play for all the money and clothes they have, but even for the members of their body at a rate of money, suffering themselves to be tied by those members and to be led about till they can free them by paying the rate of money. They delight much in dancing, using no arts of slow measures or lofty galliards, but only country dances, whereof they have some pleasant to behold, as Balrudery, and the Whip of Dunboyne, and they dance about a fire commonly in the midst of a room holding withes in their hands, and by certain strains drawing one another into the fire; and also the matachine dance, with naked swords, which they make to meet in divers comely postures. And this I have seen them often dance before the Lord Deputy in the houses of Irish lords; and it seemed to me a dangerous sport to see so many naked swords so near the Lord Deputy and chief commanders of the army in the hands of the Irish kerne, who had either lately been or were not unlike to prove rebels.

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[1] Carrows, see p. 248 *supra.*

Touching exercises, the activity of their bodies, as well in swift running on foot as in the nimble mounting their horses without stirrups, with the dexterity of using skeans and darts and riding swiftly, shows that they are well breathed in like exercises.

Touching hunting, Ireland yields some reasonable plenty of fallow deer, as well closed in parks (namely one at Maynooth, belonging to the Earl of Kildare, and another in Munster, then belonging to the Earl of Ormond, and a third lately made in the north, as I hear, by the lord of Belfast) as also running loose in the woods of the north, of Ophalia, of Leix, and of Munster. And it also yields a few stags or red deer,[1] running loose in the woods bordering upon Lecale in the north, and the other woods above-named. And this plenty is the greater because ordinary persons dare not, and great lords of the mere Irish will not, hunt them. For the mere Irish delight not in the sport, nor care to eat such meats. So as in the time of war, and for all the time I lived there, the English commanders and gentlemen of the army for the most part enjoyed this game running loose in the woods. The Irish used to kill both fallow and red deer by shot with the harquebus; and commonly catched his stags by driving them into nets, shouting with a great noise upon the contrary side from the nets, which made them go forward and go into the nets, or by the way stand gazing till they might be shot. They also had an art to catch stags by singing a certain tune upon all sides about them, by which music they fall down and lay as sleeping. Also they catched both fallow and red deer by springes of arms of trees, or young trees half cut and lightly fastened to the ground, upon which while the deer browsed they were caught by the trees, which being loosened from the

[1] See note 3, p. 222 *supra*.

ground rose up and many times hoisted and gripped them far from the ground. But of late some of the English have brought hounds and greyhounds out of England and sometimes used to hunt these deer with dogs. And at the end of the rebellion Ireland had great store of hares, but very foggy (?), being not breathed with coursing. The Irish greyhounds are so high that they overbear the hares when they have turned them. But after the wars many of the English brought over English greyhounds and hounds to course and hunt them as we do.

Ireland is much annoyed with innumerable wolves,[1] which they labour not to destroy for very idleness, though they have excellent greyhounds bold to fasten on them. So as they not only destroy their cattle, but also the fallow and red deers in the woods, which in time of the rebellion they were observed to hunt very cunningly. And one of our forts of Munster, which could not be victualled, being far within the rebels' country, was twice relieved by stags hunted by wolves and falling near it. The Irish hold it ominous to meet wolves, and have many enchantments against them. Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, was observed to have a great disaster upon the meeting of wolves; and we read that the Emperor Charles V., having met a wolf, did in the same journey break his leg. The Irish also and the English observed that before the defeat of Blackwater and upon divers like disasters, the wolves were seen to enter the villages and the towns of Ireland.

Touching hawking, Ireland in time of the war had great plenty of partridges and pheasants, so as in Munster it was well known that sixty pheasants were served at one feast. And myself living there found this plenty, but thought that the pheasants of Ireland were nothing so good meat as the English, or at least I am sure that they were most eaten by the servants attending at the table. They had also plenty of sea-fowl, but birds in the woods and groves were in divers parts rare and few; whereof I heard some yield this reason, that they were scared from them by the frequent shooting of pieces in the woods and underwoods, where the Irish kerne used commonly to lurk and to skirmish with the English. No country is more abounding with fish, as well sea fish in the frequent harbours and upon all the coasts, as fresh fish ; especially excellent trouts in the frequent rivers and brooks. To conclude, the idleness of the Irish, and their having no delight in their meats, yielded to the English a plentiful enjoying of these games, as well for the sports as the meats.

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[1] See note 2, p. 222 *supra.*

II

A VISIT TO LECALE, IN THE COUNTY OF DOWN, IN THE YEAR 1602–3

BY SIR JOSIAS BODLEY

THE intrinsic interest of this humorous narrative of the holiday excursion of a knot of English officers in Ulster in the last days of Elizabeth's reign derives an extrinsic attraction from the fact that its author was a brother of the famous founder of the Bodleian Library. Sir Josias Bodley was the youngest of Sir Thomas Bodley's four brothers. Not much is known of his early life, but Anthony Wood's statement that he spent some time at Merton College, Oxford, is confirmed by the evidence of classical reading which the narrative of his Irish tour affords. After serving some years in the Netherlands, Bodley came to Ireland in 1598, and seems to have spent his remaining years in that country. His earliest experience of the country was gained in the war with Tyrone. He served under Essex and Mountjoy, and is frequently mentioned by Fynes Moryson in his account of the Irish wars as holding considerable commands in various parts of Ireland. In March 1604 he was knighted by Mountjoy. After the pacification of Ireland he was appointed to superintend the Castles of Ireland. In 1609 Bodley was selected to survey the Ulster Plantation, and in recognition of this work received the appointment of director-general of the fortifications of Ireland, a post which he held until his death. Bodley, who died August 19, 1617, was buried at Christ Church, Dublin, August 26, 1617 (Finlayson's 'Monumental Inscriptions in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin,' p. 72). Transcripts of the 'Descriptio Itineris ad Lecaliam in Ultonia' are among the manuscripts at the British Museum (Add. MS. 4784, f. 87) and at the Bodleian Library (Tanner MS. 444). The transcript from which the version here printed is translated was copied by Bishop Reeves from that at the British

Museum, and is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS. No. 734). This translation is also by Bishop Reeves, by whom it was published in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology' for 1854 (vol. ii. pp. 73–99). Comparison with the manuscript in the Bodleian, and with a further copy formerly in the Phillipps collection which has recently been acquired by the University of Dublin, shows the British Museum version from which Dr. Reeves took his transcript to be less accurate than the others.

AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY OF CAPTAIN JOSIAS BODLEY INTO LECALE, IN ULSTER, IN THE YEAR 1602–3

GOOD GOD! What have I taken on me to do?[1] Truly I am an ass, otherwise I would never have undertaken so

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[1] The opening paragraphs of the original 'Descriptio,' taken from the transcript in the Bodleian Library, will give the reader a sufficient idea of Bodley's 'Latinity.' It is printed in full, from Dr. Reeves's transcript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the *Ulster Archæological Journal*, ii. p. 73, *et seq.*

'Deus bone, quid ego in me suscepi? Sane ego sum asinus, aliter nunquam suscepissem tam grave onus; sed nihil refert; faciam quod potero, ut illa canis Coppingeri, quæ semper fecit suam bonam voluntatem. Ego cepi in manu declarare quid accidit in Itinere quod fecimus ad Lecaliam, Capitanus Caulfeildus, Capitanus Jonsonus et ego, euntes ad visitandum Sirrum Richardum Morrisonum, amicum nostrum, et ad recreandum nos ibi. Et ego narrabo omnia ordine; quia ordo est pulchra res, et omnes amant illum, præter milites Irlandicos, qui sunt pessimum genus hominum; [si saltem illos homines licet appellare, qui vescuntur gramine, et sunt animo vulpes et factis lupi.] Sed ad rem.

Prædictus Dominus Morrisonus mittebat literas ad nos valde humanas, quibus invitabat nos ad custodiendum Natalitias (quas Angli *Christmas* vocant) apud se. Sed quia Sirrus Arthurus Chichesterus, Sergeantus Major totius exercitûs, convocarat nos cum nostris cohortibus in illo ipso instante, ad pugnandum cum Tyrone, qui fuit tunc in sylvis Glenconensibus cum multis vaccis at paucis militibus, nos non potuimus ire pro illo tempore in Lecaliam; sed ivimus ad dictum Dominum Arthurum, et cum illo mansimus per sedecim, vel septendecim dies in campis sine facere aliquid magnum malum ad Tyronum; quia ille Tyronus est pessimus nebulo, et valde cautus, et subtilis, et non vult esse verberatus, nisi super bonos terminos; tamen nos pugnavimus bis cum illo in ipsis sylvis, et fecimus illum currere ad fortitudines suas: sed postea linquentes circa illum locum unum garrisonum bene munitum discessimus singuli cum bona venia et bona voluntate,

Jam venit nobis in mentem dicta invitatio Sirri Richardi et post deliberationem (quia rebus inchoantibus deliberatione, periclitantibus audacia, utendum est, ut ait Seneca) nos putavimus bonum ire illuc, quamvis Natalitiæ jam essent octo dies præteritæ, quia non dubitavimus esse bene venti etiamsi fuit in Quadragesima. Fuit hoc determinatum in urbe Armachensi, ubi est gubernator unus valde honestus homo cum barba nigra, qui tractat omnes heavy a burthen; but no matter, I shall do what I can, like Coppinger's dog, who always took her own way.

I have taken in hand to recount what happened in a journey which Captain Caulfeild,[1] Captain Jephson,[2] and I made to Lecale, to visit our friend Sir Richard Morrison[3] and divert ourselves there. And I shall narrate everything in due order; for order is a fair thing and all love it, except the Irish men-at-arms, who are a most vile race of men, if it be at all allowable to call them 'men' who live upon grass, and are foxes in their disposition and wolves in their actions. But to our business.

The aforesaid Master Morrison sent very kind letters to us, inviting us to keep the Nativity (which the English call 'Christmas') with him, but, as Sir Arthur Chichester, the

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bene, secundum parvam habilitatem suam, et tractaret multo melius, si haberet plus illius rei quam Angli vocant 'meanes.'

[1] Sir Toby Caulfeild, 1565–1627, first Baron, and ancestor of the Earls of Charlemont, came to Ireland in 1599 with the Earl of Essex. He was appointed by Mountjoy governor of the fort of Charlemont, and rewarded by James I. by the grant of extensive estates in Ulster.

[2] Sir John Jephson seems also to have come to Ireland with Essex. He was at first attached to the army in Connaught under Sir Conyers Clifford, and was present at the battle of the Curlew Mountains, on the Sligo borders of Roscommon, at which that commander was defeated and slain. Jephson's valour on this occasion has been eulogised by Fynes Moryson, in his *Itinerary*, Part II. p. 38. He was at this period quartered at Carrickfergus as second in command to Sir Arthur Chichester. In 1604 he was knighted. Jephson married the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Norris, and acquired large estates in co. Cork. In the Bodleian MS., and also in the British Museum transcript, the name is spelt Jonson throughout. Bishop Reeves in his notes observes that no officer of the name is mentioned by Fynes Moryson, whereas a Captain Jephson was certainly a brother officer of Bodley's. It may be added that the voluminous lists of the officers of the army in Ireland, printed in the *Irish State Paper Calendars*, confirm Dr. Reeves's view.

[3] Sir Richard Moryson, 1571–1628, a younger brother of Fynes Moryson, served in Flanders under Sir Roger Williams (see *post*, p. 336). In 1599 he accompanied Essex to Ireland, and was knighted by him at Dublin. Under Mountjoy he was governor successively of Dundalk, Lecale, Waterford and Wexford. In 1609 he became Vice-President of Munster, and represented Bandon in the Parliament of 1613. After several unsuccessful efforts to obtain the presidency of Munster, he secured in 1618 a grant of the office in reversion, but did not live to succeed to it. He had meantime left Ireland on being appointed Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance in England. Moryson's wife was a daughter of Sir Henry Harrington. His daughter Letitia married Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland.

serjeant-major of the whole army, had convoked us with all our companies at that very moment to fight with Tyrone, who was then in the woods of Glenconkein[1] with much cattle and few fighting men, we could not go at that time to Lecale, but joined the said Sir Arthur, and remained with him for sixteen or seventeen days in the field, without doing much harm to Tyrone; for that Tyrone is the worst rascal, and very wary and subtle, and won't be beaten except on good terms. However, we fought him twice in the very woods, and made him run to his strongholds. So after leaving about that place a well-provided garrison, we each departed, with full permission and goodwill.

We now remembered the said invitation of Sir Richard, and after deliberation (for in the commencement of affairs deliberation should be used by those adventuring bold attempts, as Seneca says), we thought it good to go thither, although it was now eight days after the Nativity, because we did not doubt our being welcome though it had been Lent. This was resolved on in the city of Armagh, where there is a Governor,[2] a very honest fellow with a black beard, who uses every one well according to his poor ability, and would use them much better if he had more of the thing the English call 'means.'

We set out from that city for the town commonly called Newry,[3] which was one day's journey. There, to speak truth, we were not very well entertained, nor according to our qualities, for that town produces nothing but lean beef, and very rarely mutton, the very worst wine, nor was there any bread, except biscuits, even in the Governor's house. However, we did our best to be merry and jocund with the bad wine, putting sugar in it (as the senior lawyers are used to do with Canary wine), with toasted bread, which in English is called 'a lawyer's nightcap.' There we found

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[1] A forest of great extent on the borders of Derry and Tyrone. See Part I. p. 157 *supra*.

[2] Dr. Reeves in his notes suggests that Bodley here refers to himself. But the Governor of Armagh in 1603 was Sir Henry Danvers.

[3] *Cf.* the references to Newry in the accounts of Sir W. Brereton at p. 372 *infra* and of M. Jorevin de Rocheford at p. 421 *infra*.

Captain Adderton,[1] an honest fellow and a friend of ours, who, having nothing to do, was easily persuaded to accompany us to Lecale.

So the next morning we four take horse and set out. We had no guide except Captain Caulfeild, who promised he would lead us very well. But before we had ridden three miles we had lost our way and were compelled to go on foot, leading our horses through bogs and marshes, which was very troublesome, and some of us were not wanting who swore silently between our teeth, and wished our guide at a thousand devils. At length we came to some village of obscure name where, for two brass shillings, we brought with us a countryman who might lead us to the island of Magennis,[2] ten miles distant from the town of Newry, for Master Morrison had promised he would meet us there.

The weather was very cold, and it began to roar dreadfully with a strong wind in our faces when we were on the mountains, where there was neither tree nor house; but there was no remedy save patience. Captain Bodley alone had a long cloak with a hood, into which he prudently thrust his head, and laughed somewhat into himself to see the others so badly armed against the storm.

We now came to the island of Magennis, where, alighting from our horses, we met Master Morrison and Captain Constable,[3] with many others, whom, for the sake of brevity, I pass by. They had tarried there at least three hours expecting our arrival, and in the meantime drank ale and usquebaugh with the Lady Sara,[1] the daughter of Tyrone, and wife of the aforesaid Magennis; a truly beautiful woman; so that I can well believe these three hours did not appear to them more than a minute, especially to Master Constable, who is by his nature very fond not of women only, but likewise of dogs and horses. We also drank twice or thrice, and after we had duly kissed her we each prepared for our journey.[2]

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[1] A Captain Henry Adderton, or Atherton, held a command at Mount Norris, co. Armagh, from 1603 to 1606.—*Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6. Like his fellows he had come to Ireland with Essex, and was first employed under Sir Henry Harrington in the expedition against Phelim McPheagh O'Byrne in co. Wicklow (Dymmok's *Treatise of Ireland*, p. 42).

[2] At Castlewellan, co. Down.

[3] Sir Ralph Constable was at this time stationed at Carrickfergus. He too was present at the battle of the Curlew Mountains, and took part also in the fight on the Blackwater, July 16, 1601. In a letter from Chichester to the Earl of Salisbury, dated July 17, 1606, Constable is commended as having 'in the busiest times of the rebellion proved himself a very worthy and valiant gentleman,' qualities which in 1604 procured him the distinction of a knighthood at the hands of the Deputy, Sir George Carew.—*Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 519.

It was ten or twelve miles from that island to Downpatrick, where Master Morrison dwelt, and the way seemed much longer on account of our wish to be there. At length, as all things have an end, and a black pudding two (as the proverb hath it), we came by little and little to the said house. And now began that more than Lucullan entertainment, which neither Cicero, whose style in composition I chiefly imitate (although Horace says, '*O imitatores, servum pecus!*') nor any other of the Latin or Greek authors, could express in suitable terms.

When we had approached within a stone's-throw of the house, or rather palace, of the said Master Morrison, behold! forthwith innumerable servants! Some light us with pinewood lights and torches because it is dark; others, as soon as we alight, take our horses and lead them into a handsome and spacious stable, where neither hay nor oats are wanting. Master Morrison himself leads us by wide stairs into a large hall, where a fire is burning the height of our chins, as the saying is, and afterwards into a bed-chamber prepared in the Irish fashion.

Here, having taken off our boots, we all sit down and converse on various matters: Captain Caulfeild about supper and food, for he was very hungry; Captain Constable about hounds, of which he had there some excellent ones, as he himself asserted; and the rest about other things. Master Morrison ordered a cup of Spanish wine to be brought, with burnt sugar, nutmeg, and ginger, and made us all drink a good draught of it, which was very grateful to the palate, and also good for procuring an appetite for supper if anyone needed such.

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[1] Sarah, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, died 1638.

[2] See as to the custom of taking drink at the hands of the lady of the house, Gernon's *Description*, p. 360 *infra*.

In an hour we heard some one down in the kitchen calling with a loud voice, 'To the dresser.' Forthwith we see a long row of servants decently dressed, each with dishes of the most select meats, which they place on the table in the very best style. One presents to us a silver basin with the most limpid water, another hands us a very white towel; others arrange chairs and seats in their proper places.

> Denique quid verbis opus est? spectemur agendo

(as Ajax says in Ovid). Grace having been said, we begin to fix our eyes intently on the dishes whilst handling our knives; and here you might have plainly seen those Belgian feasts, where

> In principio est silentium,
> In medio stridor dentium,
> Et in fine rumor gentium.

For at first we sat as if rapt and astounded by the variety of meats and dainties—like a German I once saw depicted standing between two jars, the one of white wine, the other of claret, with this motto: 'I know not which way to turn.'

But after a short time we fall to roundly on every dish, calling now and then for wine, now and then for attendance, everyone according to his whim. In the midst of supper Master Morrison ordered to be given to him a glass goblet full of claret, which measured (as I conjecture) ten or eleven inches roundabout, and drank to the health of all and to our happy arrival. We freely received it from him, thanking him, and drinking, one after the other, as much as he drank before us. He then gave four or five healths of the chief men and of our absent friends, just as the most illustrious lord, now Treasurer of Ireland,[1] is used to do at his dinners. And it is a very praiseworthy thing, and has perhaps more in it than anyone would believe; and there was not one among us but did pledge him and each other without any scruple or gainsay, which I was very glad to see, for it was a proof of unanimity and assured friendship.

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[1] Sir George Carew, the well-known statesman of Elizabeth, and collector of the invaluable manuscript materials for Irish history known as the *Carew Papers*.

For there are many (a thing I can't mention without great and extreme sorrow) who won't drink healths with others, sitting, nevertheless, in the company of those who do drink, and not doing as they do, which is of all things the most shameful. And since I have now happened upon this discourse on drinking I will say something, by way of digression, on the subject. Not long ago I was in company with some boon companions who were drinking healths in usquebaugh, when one was present who wished to appear more abstemious than the rest, and would not drink with them, to whom one of them, who could not speak Latin as well as I do, said these words: 'Si tu es plus sapientis [*sic*] quam nos sumus, tu es plus beholden to God Almighty quam nos sumus,' which was most nobly said and very apposite. And I saw with my own eyes, when I was in Poland, a certain person sitting at table with many others, and refusing to drink as they drank, thrust out of doors by the head and shoulders with great disgrace, and made almost unfit for all civilised society. For at table he who does not receive whatsoever healths may be proposed by another does so, either because he likes not the proposer, or him to whom they drink, or the wine itself. Truly I would not willingly have any dealings with him who undervalues either me or my friend, or, lastly, wine, the most precious of all things under heaven.

But if any such person thinks he should go excused because he cannot bear wine, owing to the weakness of his brain, he may depend on it that it happens through his own fault; to wit, because he does not sufficiently accustom himself to wine; for by a daily and frequent use of wine he will so easily familiarise himself to it (for custom, according to Galen, is second nature) that he may quaff as many cups as he pleases, not only without injury, but even with the greatest pleasure and delight. But if he abstains from potations because he thinks that from them arises the cause, sometimes of quarrels, sometimes of mischief, let him understand that such things happen not from wine but from the vicious natures of men, from which it is rather to be deduced that, by a continual habit of drinking, we may avoid, when drunk, those vices we endeavour to avoid when sober. And for my part I have ever thought the abstemious are self-conscious of some great crime, which they fear they would betray if drunk. For wine is the father of Ebriety, but Ebriety is the mother of Truth, although some say that Truth is the daughter of Time; but they think so because wine is always drunk in good time, and it requires time to make a man drunk.

But I think I hear some severe Cato—such as they are who place their greatest happiness in long and 'well got-up'[1] beards—I say I think I hear him saying, 'Dost thou to us praise drunkenness, which enervates not only the powers of the body, but enfeebles the spirit and dulls the sharpness of the intellect?' Silence, I prithee, my good Cato, unless you first of all explain to us what drunkenness is; for he who well explaineth teacheth well. There are certain gradations of drunkenness; there are certain limits; nor can he be in reality styled a drunkard who is occasionally conquered by wine; but he who so indulges that, neglecting all other business, he hath always his nose in the cup, without regard to the place where, the persons with whom, or the time when, he drinketh.

For I maintain that being drunk is nothing else than being sometimes rationally mad, just as if one should take any medicine that intoxicates the brain, or produces perhaps nausea, vomiting, or sleep; of which there are many, as antimony, nux vomica, opium, mandrake, and such like, and yet which may subsequently expel some disease, and conduce to health. Even Hippocrates himself, the prince of physicians, recommends amongst other things that contribute to health, an immoderate potation of wine at least once a month. And I remember having heard that a certain most learned physician, when he was asked by a friend why he drank so much wine himself, and was almost daily drunk, although to others he preached abstinence from wine, whereby they might prolong their life, replied that he lived more in one day by living his own way and according to his own will, than if he had lived a whole year according to the laws of physic. And certainly there are more old drunkards than old physicians, as Rabelais says.

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[1] *Comptis* or *completis* in the original.

I could, indeed, adduce in corroboration of my opinion, almost innumerable instances of illustrious and learned men who were wont to get drunk after the manner I have mentioned. But what need is there for particular examples when so many countries on the globe are so addicted to potations that you would suppose they did scarcely anything else than drink—to wit, Flanders, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, with many others, now too tedious to particularise. Much more could be said on this point, but I wish not to amplify farther, for the thing is as clear in itself as the day. I will therefore conclude with these lines of Horace, which are worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold on every table :

Quid non ebrietas designat? Aperta recondit;
Spes jubet esse ratas: in prelia trudit inermem,
Sollicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes;
Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?[1]

Let us now return to Lecale, where the supper (which, as I have said, was most elegant) being ended, we again enter our bedroom, in which was a large fire (for at the time it was exceedingly cold out of doors) and benches for sitting on, and plenty of tobacco, with nice pipes, was set before us. The wine also had begun to operate a little on us, and every one's wits had become somewhat sharper; all were gabbling at once, and all sought a hearing at once, like what Sir Roger Williams,[2] of worthy memory, used to call

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[1] Horace, *Epistles*, Book I. 5th Ep. *Aperta recondit* is a misquotation for Horace's *Operta recludit.*

[2] Sir Roger Williams was a distinguished Elizabethan soldier. He fought under Sir Thomas Norris in the Low Countries in 1577 and was present

'his academy,' to wit, where all were speakers and no listeners. And it is not true what some say, 'When wine is in wit is out,' unless they mean thereby, that when anyone is full of wine, then his wit, which was previously hidden and unknown, exhibits itself openly and plainly. For if any sober person had been present at that time in any corner of the room, I doubt not that he would have heard very remarkable and witty things, which I cannot now recollect.

I remember, however, that we conversed profoundly about things political, economical, philosophical, and much else; and amongst other things we said that the time was now happily different from when we were before Kinsale at Christmas of last year,[1] when we suffered intolerable cold, dreadful labour, and a want of almost everything, drinking the very worst whiskey.[2] We compared events, till lately unhoped for, with the past, and with those now hoped for. Lastly, reasoning on everything, we conclude that the verse of Horace squares exceedingly well with the present time namely,

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus.

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at Zutphen in 1586. Camden in his *Annals* has several references to Williams, who was the author of *A Brief Discourse of War*, 1590, which he dedicated to Essex.

Miss Strickland records a good story of Williams' bluntness: 'Elizabeth was very delicate in her olfactory nerves, and affected to be still more sensitive on that point than she really was. One day that valiant Welsh commander, Sir Roger Williams, knelt to prefer a petition which her Majesty was determined not to grant, and did not like to be compelled to refuse. Observing that his boots were made of rough, untanned leather, instead of answering him she turned away with a gesture of disgust, exclaiming, "Pho, Williams! how your boots stink!" "Tut, madam," replied the sturdy Williams, who understood her meaning, "it is my suit that stinks, not my boots."'—Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, edition of 1851, iv. p. 709.

[1] Bodley, with most of his comrades in the visit to Lecale, was present under Mountjoy at the siege of Kinsale, September to December 1601.

[2] Dr. Reeves here notes that this sentence is obscure in the original, and conjectures that some words may have been omitted from the British Museum transcript from which he copied. A comparison with the version in the Bodleian and that recently acquired by the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, shows that two or three sentences have been omitted. They are, however, of no importance to the narrative.

Therefore, after a little, Captain Jephson calls for usquebaugh, and we all immediately second him with one consent, calling out 'Usquebaugh, usquebaugh!' for we could make as free there as in our own quarters.

Besides it was not without reason we drank usquebaugh, for it was the best remedy against the cold of that night, and good for dispersing the crude vapours of the French wine; and pre-eminently wholesome in these regions, where the priests themselves—who are holy men, as the Abbot of Armagh, the Bishop of Cashel, and others, and also noble men, as Henry Oge McMahon McHenry, and men and women of every rank—pour usquebaugh down their throats by day and by night, and that not for hilarity only which would be praiseworthy, but for constant drunkenness which is detestable.

Therefore after everyone had drank two or three healths, still discoursing between each health on grave affairs relating to the State (amongst which many things concerning Marius and Sylla, concerning Cæsar and Pompey, and also about Marcus Coriolanus, were most learnedly handled and most keenly argued) we all at once agree to go to bed. For, what because of the assailing fumes of the wine which now sought our heads and, by reason of the coolness of our brains, diffused themselves over our eyes, what because of the fatigue from the previous day's journey, and what because of the hour itself, when the sun had advanced from the east to the meridian line of the other hemisphere, fifteen degrees, six minutes, five seconds and four-thirds, we thought it right (as I have said) to rest for some hours. And behold now the great kindness that Master Morrison shows towards us! He gives up to us his own good and soft bed, and throws himself upon a pallet in the same chamber, and would not be persuaded by anything we could say to lie in his own bed; and the pallet was very hard and thin such as they are wont to have who are called 'Palatine' of great heroes.

I need not tell how soundly we slept till morning, for that is easily understood, all things considered—at least, if the old syllogism be true, 'He who drinks well sleeps well.' We did not, however, pass the night altogether without annoyance, for Captain Constable's dogs, which were very badly educated (after the northern fashion), were always jumping on the beds, and would not let us alone, although we beat them ever so often, which the said Constable took in dudgeon, especially when he heard his dogs howling; but it was all as one for that, for it is not right that dogs, who are of the beasts, should sleep with men who are reasoning and laughing animals, according to the philosophers.

When the sun, on the line of the ecliptic, over the poles of the Zodiac, had already made almost the fourth part of his daily journey above our horizon, and the domestics, knowing that it was time for us to rise, came in to light the fire, we all suddenly awoke, and saluted each other as is the custom with the well-educated. Before we get out of bed they bring to us a certain aromatic of strong ale compounded with sugar and eggs (in English, 'caudle'), to comfort and strengthen the stomach; they also bring beer (if any prefer it), with toasted bread and nutmeg to allay thirst, steady the head, and cool the liver; they also bring pipes of the best tobacco to drive away rheums and catarrhs.

We all now jump quickly out of bed, put on our clothes, approach the fire, and, when all are ready, walk abroad together to take the air, which in that region is most salubrious and delightful, so that if I wished to enumerate all the advantages of the place, not only powers (of description) but time itself would be wanting. I shall therefore omit that, as being already known, and revert to ourselves, who, having now had a sufficient walk, returned to our lodgings as dinner time was at hand.

But how can we now tell about the sumptuous preparation of everything? How about the dinners? How about the suppers? How about the dainties? For we seemed as if present (as you would suppose) at the nuptial banquet to which some Cleopatra had invited her Antony; so many varieties of meat were there; so many kinds of condiments, about every one of which I would willingly say something, only that I fear being tedious. I shall therefore demonstrate from a single dinner what may be imagined of the rest. There was a large and beautiful collar of brawn with its accompaniments, to wit, mustard and Muscadel wine; there were well-stuffed geese (such as the Lord Bishop is wont to eat at Ardbraccan),[1] the legs of which Captain Caulfeild always laid hold of for himself; there were pies of venison and of various kinds of game; pasties also, some of marrow with innumerable plums, others of it with coagulated milk, such as the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London almost always have at their feasts; others, which they call tarts, of divers shapes, materials, and colours, made of beef, mutton, and veal. I do not mention, because they are reckoned vulgar, other kinds of dishes, wherein France much abounds, and which they designate *quelq'-choses*. Neither do I relate anything of the delicacies which accompanied the cheese, because they would exceed all belief. I may say in one word that all things were there supplied to us most luxuriously and most copiously.

And lest anyone might think that God had sent us the meat but the devil the cook (as the proverb says), there was a cook there so expert in his art that his equal could scarce be found; and I shall now say one big (*superbum*) word—I believe that Master Robert, the cook who presides over the kitchen of the Lord Deputy (with pardon be it spoken) is not a much better cook, or more skilled in his art than he —and his name is Philip. And truly this may suffice as to the dishes and dainties, for a word is enough to the wise.

If you now inquire whether there were any other amusements besides those I have related, I say an infinite number and the very best. For if we wished to ride after dinner you would have seen forthwith ten or twelve handsome steeds with good equipments and other ornaments, ready for the road. We quickly mount; we visit the Well and Chair of St. Patrick,[1] the ancient fort, or any other place according to our fancy, and at length returning home, cards, tables, and dice are set before us, and amongst other things, that Indian tobacco (of which I shall never be able to make sufficient mention) and of which I cannot speak otherwise; whereas there are many who loathe it as not at all pleasant or necessary; and they do not so, like others who unnaturally and from antipathy dislike certain foods, just as Captain Morris hates eels, Captain Sydney cheese, Captain Windsor[2] mutton chops, and Captain Bodley usquebaugh, nevertheless, admitting these things to be good in themselves, and freely allowing them to others; whereas those good fellows (of whom I speak) not only contemn tobacco themselves but also advise others against it.

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[1] See the account of Mountjoy's visit to Ardbraccan in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, Part II. (p. 91, of the folio of 1617):—'The 15th of March his lordship drew to Ardbrachin, the Bishop of Meath's house, six miles distant (from Trim), where his lordship had appointed the adjoining garrisons to meet him the next day.' The bishop was Dr. Thomas Jones, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.

And I have now, for twelve years and more, been expecting some sound reason from them to confirm that opinion, but have, as yet, heard none (that is worth a farthing), nor shall I ever hear one. Almost all have but one argument, that would make a dog laugh and a horse break his halter, saying that neither our sires nor grand-sires took tobacco, yet they lived I know not how long. So, indeed, they lived until they died, despite of tobacco; but who knows if they might not have lived longer had they used tobacco? And if one who now uses tobacco die of any disease, who knows if he might not have died sooner if he had abstained from tobacco?

And do not reject as ridiculous and entirely false that some tobacconists, being dissected after death, have been found to be black inside, because (if such hath ever happened) it proceeds from the vitiation or corruption of the blood, or from the superabundance of the atrabilious humour, or, lastly, from the *morbus Gallicus*, or any other indisposition of the body; for physicians very well know, and with their opinion I agree, that tobacco, nevertheless, may contain in itself something divine, and may conduce wonderfully to our health.

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[1] At Struel, near Downpatrick. See Harris's *History of Down*, p. 25, and Reeves's *Eccl. Antiq.* p. 42.

[2] Captain Edward Morris was quartered at Mountjoy, co. Tyrone, at this time. *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1603–6, p. 91. Captain John Sidney, or Sydney, was quartered at Cavan, and Captain Sir William Windsor, or Winsor, at Drogheda. *Ibid.* p. 92. Sydney was knighted in 1604.

Whence, I prithee, could I bring stronger or surer testimony than that so many noble and, at the same time, wise men (besides countless others) delight in it extremely? And from the time it was first discovered it hath maintained the same repute for so many years; nor hath it ever had an enemy except the ignorant, who, either on account of the cost (for it is sold dear) or because he imagined himself awkward in properly or skilfully imbibing it, was deterred, as it were, on the very threshold. Indeed, from my experience, I have so much in view its innumerable and unspeakable benefits, that I might even venture to say (with the poet):

> Cur moriatur homo qui fumat in ore tobacco?[1]

And now once more to our Lecale, where, amongst other things that contributed to hilarity there came one night after supper certain maskers of the Irish gentry, four in number, if I rightly remember. They first sent in to us a letter marked with 'the greatest haste' and 'after our hearty commendations,' according to the old style, saying that they were strangers just arrived in these parts, and very desirous of spending one or two hours with us; and leave being given, they entered in this order: first a boy, with lighted torch; then two beating drums; then the maskers, two and two; then another torch. One of the maskers carried a dirty pocket-handkerchief with ten pounds in it, not of bullion, but of the new money lately coined, which has the harp on one side and the royal arms on the other. They were dressed in shirts with many ivy leaves sewn on here and there over them, and had over their faces masks of dog-skin with holes to see out of, and noses made of paper; their caps were high and peaked (in the Persian fashion) and were also of paper, and ornamented with the same leaves.

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[1] At the period at which Bodley was writing the controversy as to the use of tobacco was at its height. James I. had not yet published his well-known *Counterblast to Tobacco*, which did not appear till 1604. But since its introduction into England in 1586 by some returned Virginian colonists its use had become sufficiently general to have provoked much social controversy. Several works on the subject appeared between 1590 and 1602. See Arber's edition of *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* in 'English Reprints,' pp. 85–94.

I may briefly say we play at dice. At one time the drums sound on their side, at another the trumpet on ours. We fight a long time a doubtful game; at length the maskers lose, and are sent away, cleaned out (*vacui*). Now whoever hath seen a dog struck with a stick or a stone run out of the house with his tail hanging between his legs would have (so) seen these maskers going home, without money, out of spirits, out of order, without even saying 'Farewell'; and they said that each of them had five or six miles to go to his home, and it was then two hours after midnight.

I shall now tell of another jest or gambol which amongst many the domestics of Master Morrison exhibited for us. Two servants sat down after the manner of women (with reverence be it spoken) when they 'hunker,' only that they (the servants) sat upon the ground; their hands were tied together in such a manner that their knees were clasped within them, and a stick placed between the bend of the arms and the legs, so that they could in no way move their arms; they held between the forefinger and thumb of either hand a small stick almost a foot in length and sharp at the farther end. Two are placed in this way: one opposite the other at the distance of an ell. Being thus placed they engage, and each one tries to upset his opponent by attacking him with his feet, for being once upset he can by no means recover himself, but presents his rear to his upsetter for attack with the aforesaid small stick,[1] which made us laugh so for an hour that the tears dropped from our eyes, and the wife of Philip, the cook, laughed, and the scullion, who were both present. You would have said that some barber-surgeon was there, to whom all were showing their teeth. But enough of these matters; for there would be no end of writing were I to recount all our grave and merry doings in that space of seven days. I shall therefore make an end both of the journey and of my story. For on the seventh day from our arrival we departed, mournful and sad; and Master Morrison accompanied us as far as Dundrum,[1] to whom each of us bidding farewell, and again farewell, and shouting the same for a long way, with our caps raised above our heads, we hasten to our quarters, and there we each cogitate seriously over our own affairs.

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[1] Bishop Reeves has the following note on this game: 'Here is a most graphic description of a game still common in the North of Ireland at harvest homes (provincially churns) and at Halloween and Christmas merrymakings. It is called in this part of Ireland "skiver (*i.e.* skewer) the goose," and is a very good representation of that biped trussed and prepared for the spit. As now generally practised the pointed stick is properly dispensed with, and the attack is confined to the parties endeavouring to upset each other by pushing, in which the aggressor is frequently "hoist with his own petard," as much to

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the amusement of the company as it appears to have been enjoyed by Bodley and his brother warriors.' *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, ii. p. 94, *note*.

[1] Dundrum in co. Down, about ten miles from Downpatrick.

III

A DISCOURSE OF IRELAND, ANNO 1620

BY LUKE GERNON.

OF the author of this 'Discourse of Ireland,' which is preserved among the Stowe Papers at the British Museum,[1] and has not hitherto been printed, not much can now be ascertained. But the accuracy of the endorsement on the manuscript, which ascribes it to one Luke Gernon, is borne out by the internal evidence of the narrative. The writer mentions that he was resident in Limerick, the seat of the presidency of Munster, and that he was a member of the council by which the affairs of the province were administered. And it appears that one Luke Gernon was appointed to the office of Second Justice of the province of Munster in 1619.[2] Gernon became a member of the King's Inns at Dublin in the same year, and it is perhaps reasonable to identify him with the 'Lucas Garnons of Beds, gent.,' who was admitted to Lincoln's Inn on May 5, 1604. That he held that position at least nominally until the Restoration appears from the patent of appointment of his successor, one John Naylor, and the provision of a pension of 100*l.* a year in Gernon's favour, payable out of the 'casual profits of the provincial courts in Ireland.' Of Gernon's career prior to his appointment to the provincial judgeship nothing can be ascertained. His name, which is an old one in the counties of Louth and Meath, suggests an Irish origin. But a letter of Sir William St. Leger, President of Munster from 1626 to 1642, to Dudley Carleton, Lord Dorchester, the well-known Secretary of State to Charles I., speaks of Gernon as having been recommended for preferment by 'his friends in Hertfordshire,'[3] where, as in other English shires, families of the name were long seated.

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[1] The Discourse is to be found in Stowe MSS. vol. 28, folio 5. The manuscript contains no clue to the authorship beyond the endorsement, in a seventeenth-century hand, 'A Discourse of Ireland by L. Gernons.'

[2] *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 186.

[3] *S. P.* (*Ireland*), vol. 251, No. 131.

These friends may however have been his wife's relatives, for it appears that there was some connection between Mrs. Gernon and the second Lady Dorchester,[1] and the latter seems to have used her good offices, but unsuccessfully, to procure Gernon's promotion to a judgeship in Dublin. The whole tone of the 'Discourse' suggests, however, that the author was of English birth, and he was quite certainly bred in England.

Gernon remained in Limerick until the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641, when, like most persons in the south of Ireland connected with the English interest, he fell upon evil days. A petition sent by his wife to Cromwell[2] in 1653 describes him as having been deprived of all his estate to the value of 3,000*l.*, and as having been constrained with his wife and four small children 'to travel all naked through woods and bogs in the depth of winter,' whereby one of his children was 'starved to death' and Mrs. Gernon lost the use of her limbs. Cromwell, it appears from this petition, had when in Ireland granted Gernon a pension of 100 marks per annum, probably at the instance of Lord Orrery, with whose father, the great Earl of Cork, Gernon had been well acquainted.[3] The pension, however, had not been paid, hence the petition to Cromwell. The earlier petition by Gernon himself on which Cromwell first granted a pension contains a declaration by Gernon of his 'free submission' to Cromwell's Government, but his claims to the Protector's favour seem to have been based chiefly on those of the suppliant's wife, 'a lady of quality whose worth the petitioner doth much tender,' and who was certified by Archbishop Ussher to be 'a most fit object of Christian charity.' That Gernon survived the Restoration, and that his pension of 100 marks was continued to him by the Duke of Ormond's Government appears from a letter of Lord Orrery's, but the exact date of his death is unknown. In 1673, however, administration in respect of the goods of 'Luke Gernon, lately of Cork, Esquire, deceased,' was granted to his principal creditor, one Thomas Sheridan. A daughter of Gernon's, marrying a Royalist officer of Bandon, became in 1659 the mother of Nicholas Brady, the joint author with Nahum Tate of the metrical version of the Psalms.[4] Another of Gernon's descendants, through the same alliance, Maziere Brady, was Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the last century.

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[1] *Cal. S. P. (Ireland)*, 1625–32, p. 598.

[2] *S. P. (Ireland)*, vol. 283, No. 303.

[3] Lord Cork's diary contains entries of loans of 20*l.* and 10*l.* in 1622 and 1627 to 'Mr. Second Justice Gernon.'—*Lismore Papers*, 1st series, ii. pp. 61 and 241.

[4] Brady's *Records of Cork*, i. p. 182.

Gernon's 'Discourse' is undated, but apart from the fact that it was manifestly written within a short time of his arrival in Munster, the approximate date of its composition appears from the narrative. Gernon states at p. 350, 'It is now since she (Ireland) was drawn out of the womb of rebellion about sixteen years, by'r-lady nineteen,' and as Tyrone's submission was made in 1603, this would show his 'Discourse' to have been written between 1619, the year of the writer's appointment, and 1622. A more precise reference at p. 354 reduces this period of three years to one. The fire at Galway mentioned as having 'happened in May was twelve month' is known to have occurred in 1619.[1] The winter of 1620 is therefore the most probable date of the 'Discourse.'

Gernon's narrative is full of many of the mannerisms of the time, and in certain passages he expresses himself with a freedom not quite appropriate to the social amenities of the twentieth century. Such colloquial licence seems less jarring in the garb of seventeenth-century orthography, and for this reason the spelling of the original manuscript has been retained.

[1] See Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 101.

A DISCOURSE OF IRELAND

WHEN I am playing at poste and payre,[1] my opposite challengeth wth two counters; If I answer him wth two other, and rest, I have but a faynte game, but if I see that, and revye wth foure more, my game is a vigorous game, that will hold water. So it is in letters. You have written unto me, and I have answered, if it should stopp there, it were a signe of could friendshipp. I must revye it wth something that may be plausible and delightfull. I am casting for an essay. Should I tell of our old trickes. It is a pleasant thing to recorde, but not to rescribe. Olde things are paste, and new things come in place. Should I speake of matters in England *hæc vobis dicenda relinquo.* What then? On the backe of your letter there is inscribed Ireland. Ireland shall be my theame, not so much because I am resident there, as for this cause that it will be most appropryated to yo^{r} love, for though you would not look into Ireland but for me, yett when you look after me, yo^{r} imaginacōn transports yo^{r}self into Ireland. Do you look that I should describe the clymat, the degrees, the scituation, the longitude, the latitude, the temperature, &c. Go look in yo^{r} mapps, I must have a more quaynt and genuine devise. It was my chance once in a place, but I know not where, to see a map of Europe, and it was described in the lineam^{ts} of a naked woman, and upon the surface was a mapp of the countreyes. I dare not set downe how every country was placed, least I should misplace them, but one was in her forhead, another on her right brest, another on her lefte, others in her armes, others on her thighes, and Fraunce wth a pope was in her plackett. In such a forme will I represent our Ireland, and yett, if my cunning fail me not, I will depaynt her more lively and more sensible to yo^{r} intelligence then if you had her in a table.

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[1] 'Post and pair' is explained in Nares's *Glossary* (ed. Halliwell and Wright, 1867, ii. p. 676) as a 'game on the cards, played with three cards each, wherein much depended on *vying*, or betting on the goodness of your own hand.' In certain points, which are specified by Nares, 'it would,' he says, 'much resemble the modern game of commerce.' Ben Jonson in *The Masque of Christmas* (1616) introduces Post and Pair among the ten sons and daughters of Christmas. 'Post and Pair, with a pair-royal of aces in his hat; his garment all done over with pairs and purs; his squire carrying a box, cards and counters.' Nares has a long note on 'Pur' (*s. v.*), of the meaning of which he is uncertain. In Jonson's *Works* (ed. Gifford, Chatto & Windus, iii. p. 107) will be found a note by Gifford, in which he refers to having read prose descriptions of the game, and quotes from John Davies's *Wittes Pilgrimage*, part of a poem entitled 'Mortall Life compared to Post and Pare.' The whole of this poem will be found in Grosart's 'John Davies of Hereford,' *Wittes Pilgrimage*, p. 38. Jonson again mentions 'post and pair' in his Masque of *Love Restored* (speech of Plutus as Cupid). The game is spoken of by Heywood in *A Woman Kilde with Kindness* (Pearson's Heywood, 1874, ii. p. 122). In Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, references are given under 'Post and Pair' to 'Florio [Italian Dict., under Gile], p. 210; Taylor's motto, 1622, sig. D, iv.' See also T. L. O. Davies, *A Supplementary English Glossary* (1880) under 'Post' and under 'Greek.'

This Nymph of Ireland, is at all poynts like a yong wenche that hath the greene sicknes for want of occupying. She is very fayre of visage, and hath a smooth skinn of tender grasse. Indeed she is somewhat freckled (as the Irish are) some partes darker than other. Her flesh is of a softe and delicat mould of earthe, and her blew vaynes trayling through every part of her like ryvoletts. She hath one master vayne called the Shanon, which passeth quite through her, and if it were not for one knot (one mayne rocke) it were navigable from head to foot. She hath three other vaynes called the sisters, the Seuer, the Noyer & the Barrow, w^{ch} rysing at one spring, trayle through her middle partes, and ioyne together in theyr going out.[1] Her bones are of polished marble, the grey marble, the blacke, the redd, and the speckled, so fayre for building that their houses shew like colledges, and being polished, is most rarely embelished. Her breasts are round hillockes of milk-yeelding grasse, and that so fertile, that they contend w^th^ the vallyes. And betwixt her leggs (for Ireland is full of havens), she hath an open harbor, but not much frequented. She hath had goodly tresses of hayre *arboribusq' comæ*, but the iron mills, like a sharpe toothed combe, have notted & poled her much, and in her champion partes she hath not so much as will cover her nakedness.[1] Of complexion she is very temperate, never too hott, nor too could, and hath a sweet breath of favonian winde. She is of a gentle nature. If the anger of heaven be agaynst her, she will not bluster and storme, but she will weepe many dayes together, and (alas) this last summer she did so water her plants, that the grasse and blade was so bedewed, that it became unprofitable, and threatens a scarcity. Neyther is she frosenharted, the last frost was not so extreame here as it was reported to be in England. It is nowe since she was drawne out of the wombe of rebellion about sixteen yeares, by'rlady nineteen, and yet she wants a husband, she is not embraced, she is not hedged and diched, there is noo quicksett putt into her.

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[1] *Cf.* Spenser's *Faery Queene*, Book IV. canto xi. 42:

And there the three renowmed brethren were,

. . . . .

The first the gentle Shure that, making way
By sweet Clonmell, adornes rich Waterford;
The next, the stubborne Newre whose waters gray
By faire Kilkenny and Rossponté boord;
The third, the goodly Barow which doth hoord
Great heapes of salmons in his deepe bosóme.

How shall I describe her townes, her people, her flockes. Her townes shall be her pallaces. I have sacred warrant. The daughter of Zion is all desolate, her pallaces are destroyed. Those which are called by the name of cittyes are Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Lymerick, Galloway, Killkenny, the Derry and Colrane. A poynt must serve for a description, but I will place it in that part w^{ch} is most worthy of yo^{r} apprehension.

Dublin is the most frequented, more for conveniency then for Maiesty. There reside the deputy, and the Councel; there she receyves intelligences, advertisem^{ts}, instructions. The buildings are of timber, and of the English forme, and it is resembled to Bristoll, but falleth shorte.

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[1] See Part I. p. 150 *supra*.

The circuit of the Castle is a huge and mighty wall four-square, and of incredible thicknes, built by King John, wthin it are many fayre buildings, and there the deputy keeps his court. There are two cathedralls under one Archbishopp. St. Patrickes, and Christchurch. St. Patricks is more vast and auncient, the other is in better repayre.[1] The Courtes of Justice (the same as in England) are kept in a large stone building ꝑcell of Christchurch, w^{ch} is built in forme of a crosse, at the foure ends are the foure courts well adorned, the middle is to walk in. There is a house of Courte where the Judges and other lawyers have chambers,[2] and a com̃on hall to dyne in, and it is called, the Innes, the Judges, and the Kings Councell make the Benche, in w^{ch} number I am, the rest are barristers, and atturnyes. further there is a Colledge w^{ch} is also an University. You will expect to know the state of our state. It is not very magnificent, nor to be disregarded. There is a presence where they stand at all times uncovered, and a clothe of state under w^{ch} the deputy sitteth. When that he sitteth at meate, there sitt of men of quality as many as the table will contayne. When he goeth abroad in solemne manner, all whom it concernes do attend him. Before him goe the gentlemen captynes, knights, and officers, all on foote. Then com̃eth the deputy ryding in state, and before him a knight bareheaded carrying the sword. After the deputy, the nobles, the Councell, and the Judges, all in footeclothes. His guarde consists of fifty tall men, they weare not redd coates, but soldiers cassockes, and halberts in theyr handes.[3] On principall festivalls, the herauld goes before him in a cote of armes.[4] So much of Dublin. I may call it her Whyte hall. Lett us tak our iourney to Waterford.

Waterford is scituated upon the best harbour, and in a pleasant and temperat ayre. The buildings are of English forme, and well compact. There is a fayre cathedrall, but her beauty is in the key, for the wall of the towne extending for neare half a mile along the water, between that and the water, there is a broad key maynly fortifyed w^th^ stone and stronge piles of timber, wheer a shipp of the burden of 1000 tunnes may ryde at anchor. It was famous for merchandise, but her high stomacke in disobeying the state, depryved her of her magistrate, and now she is in the governem^{t} of a souldyer.[1] In her prosperity, there was a league between her and Bristoll that theyre merchants respectively should be exempted of custom, but now she complayns that Bristoll refuseth her. Our next iorney is to Corke.

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[1] This is incorrect as to the relative antiquity of the two cathedrals. St. Patrick's Cathedral was consecrated in 1191, Christ Church in 1038.

[2] The King's Inns had been quite recently constituted. See as to the allocation of chambers in 1609, Duhigg's *History of the King's Inns*, p. 75.

[3] See Part I. pp. 85–6 *supra*.

[4] See plate vi. to Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, illustrating Sir Henry Sidney leaving Dublin Castle on a State progress.

Cork is a porte of the sea also, but stands in a very bogge and is unhealthy. The building is of stone, and built after the Irish forme, w^{ch} is Castlewise, and wth narrow windows more for strength then for beauty, but they begin to beautify it in better forme. There is the quarry of redd marble, w^{ch} maketh the towne appeare of a ruddy colour. There is also a cathedrall but in decay. It is a populous towne and well compact, but there is nothing in it remarkeable. There is nothing to com̃end it but the antiquity, and nothinge dothe disgrace it so much as theyr obstinacy in the antick religion. Passe on to Lymerick.

Lymericke is the place of my commerce, lett me entertayn yo^{u} wth a broad cake, and a cupp of sacke as the maner is, you will be the lesse sensible of my tediousnes. Lymericke divides itself into two partes, the high towne, w^{ch} is compassed wth the Shanon, and the base towne, and in forme it doth perforth resemble an hower glasse, being bound together by that bridge w^{ch} divides the two partes. A philosopher that saw a little towne wth a wyde open gate, gave warning to the citizens to shutt up theyr gate, least the towne should runne out. The founders of this citty were more considerate, for they have fensed the base towne wth such a huge strong wall that travaylers affirme, they have not seene the like in Europe. It is a mile in compasse, and three men a breast may walke the round.[1] Notw^t^standing theyr provydence I am of opinion that that part hath crept over the bridge into the high towne, for now there is nothing remayning in that part, but a street of decayed houses, w^th^ orchards and gardens, saving a church and a storehouse, monum^ts^ of former habitacōn. The other parte is a lofty building of marble. In the highe streete it is builte from one gate to the other in one forme, like the Colledges in Oxford, so magnificent that at my first entrance it did amase me, *sed intus cadavera*, noysome, & stincking houses. The cathedrall is not large but very lightsome, and by the provydence of the Bishop[2] fayrely beautifyed w^th^in, and as gloriously served w^th^ singing and organs. There is in this citty an auncient Castle, the Bishop's pallace, and a stone bridge of fourteen arches.[3] But that w^ch^ is most notorious to my iudgem^t^ is the key wall. This wall is extended from the towne walle into the middle of the ryver, and was made for a defense and harbor for the shipping. It is in lengthe about 200 paces, and it is a double wall. In the botome it is a mayne thicknes, and so continueth untill it be raysed above high water. Then there is w^th^in it a long gallery arched over head, and w^th^ windowes most pleasant to walke in, and above that a tarace to walke upon w^th^ fayre battlem^ts^, at the end of it there is a round tower w^th^ two or three chambers, one above the other, and a battlement above. This towne now reioyceth in the residence of the president. The presidency is kept in the forme as it is in Wales.[4] A president, two Justices and a Councell. We sitt in councell at a table.

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[1] Waterford was without a charter from 1617 to 1626.

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[1] The walls of Limerick were dismantled in 1760. Only a very small portion now remains.

[2] The Bishop of Limerick in Gernon's time was Dr. Bernard Adams. This prelate, who held the see from 1604 to 1626, was a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Ware has recorded his munificence as a restorer of the cathedral. Ware's *Bishops*.

[3] See the drawing in Dinely's *Tour*, p. 109. The bridge is also well shown on a map by Thomas Phillips, drawn in 1685, which is preserved at Kilkenny Castle. See *Ormonde Papers*, ii. p. 310.

[4] See Part I. p. 130 *supra*.

When the president goeth forthe, he is attended in military forme, when he rydeth, w^{th} a troupe of horse, when he walketh, w^{t} a company of foote, w^{th} pikes and musketts in hand. I have kept you too long at Lymerick, lett me conducte you towards Galloway.

I was never there myself, but it is reported to be the Windsore of Ireland.[1] It hath been praysed for the magnificent building and a stately Abbey there, used for a parish churche.[2] But a great fyer w^{ch} hapned in May was twelmonth did consume 400 houses, and utterly defaced the Abbey being so vehement that the bodyes of the dead lying in vaults were consumed to ashes. They beginne to reedify. lett us returne by Killkenny.

Kilkenny is an inland towne scituate in a pleasant valley, and upon a fresh ryver. It is praysed for the wholsom ayer, and delightfull orchards and gardens, w^{ch} are somewhat rare in Ireland. The houses are of grey marble fayrely builte, the fronts of theyr houses are supported (most of them) w^{th} pillars, or arches under w^{ch} there is an open pavement to walke on. At the one end of the towne is a large cathedrall, at the other end, a high mounted Castle appertayning to the Earles of Ormond, but now it is allotted to the portion of the Countesse of Desmond.[3]

The other two Cyttyes, the Derry, and Colrane are of the new plantacōn in the Northe, they are reported to be fayrly built, but they are like new pallaces, they are not slated nor the flowers layd yett let them alone till they be finished.

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[1] This will appear an exaggerated eulogy, but the relative importance of Galway among Irish cities was greater in Gernon's day than it has been in later times. It was then accounted the second city in Ireland, and is so placed as late as 1652 by Boate: 'Next to Dublin is Galway, the head city of the Province of Connaught to be reckoned, as well for bigness and fairness as for riches.' Boate places the cities of Ireland in this order: 1, Dublin; 2, Galway; 3, Waterford; 4, Limerick; 5, Cork; 6, Londonderry.—*Ireland's Naturall History*, chap. i. And see Lady Fanshawe's *Memoirs*, pp. 86–90.

[2] The Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, Galway, was founded in 1320.

[3] Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormond, being a ward of James I. was given in marriage to his favourite, James Preston, created Earl of Desmond. Under an award of James I. the Castle and a great portion of the extensive Ormond estates were, at this time, divorced from the bearer of the hereditary honours of the Butler family. But they were reunited a few years later than Gernon's narrative in the person of the Countess of Desmond's only daughter Elizabeth, who married the twelfth Earl of Ormond, afterwards so well known as the first Duke of Ormond.—See *Ormonde Papers*, vol. ii. New Series, p. 345.

To the inferior places I will not invite yo^{u}, onely cast yo^{r} regard upon Youghall and Bandonbridge.

Youghall is a sea towne, and little inferior to the cittyes. It is scituated between Waterford and Corke, and is a lurcher, for it hath gotten the traffick from them both, especially for transporting of cattle.

Bandonbridge is a new plantation begun wth in these fifteen yeares, and is encreased to be neare as large as Lycester. It reioyceth in the patronage of that happy man Richard Boyle, now Earle of Corke, by whose procurem^{t} it is now engirting wth a new wall for w^{ch} the province is taxed at 5^{s} the plowland. It is estimated that the charge will amount to 4000^{li}.

In this peregrination you have viewed the country in passing, the villages are distant each from other about two miles. In every village is a castle, and a church, but bothe in ruyne. The baser cottages are built of underwood, called wattle, and covered some wth thatch and some wth green sedge, of a round forme and wthout chimneys, and to my imaginacōn resemble so many hives of bees, about a country farme. In the end of harvest the villages seem as bigg agayne as in the spring, theyre corne being brought into theyr haggards, and layed up in round cockes, in forme of theyr houses. And by the way, there is no meate so daynty as a haggard pigg, a pigg that hath been fedd at the reeke, take him at a quarter old, and use him like a rosting pigg; because his biggness should not be offensive, they serve him up by quarters. Here I would conclude wth our buildings, but when I look about I cannot but bewayle the desolation w^{ch} cyvill rebellion hath procured. It lookes like the later end of a feast. Here lyeth an old ruyned castle like the remaynder of a venyson pasty, there a broken forte like a minced py half subiected, and in another place an old abbey wth some turrets standing like the carcase of a goose broken up. It makes me rememb^r the old proverb.—It is better to come to the end of a feast, then the beginning of a fray. But I have held you too longe among this rubbish.

Lett us converse w^th the people. Lord, what makes you so squeamish—be not affrayd. The Irishman is no Canniball to eate you up nor no lowsy Jack to offend you.

The man of Ireland is of a strong constitution, tall and bigg limbed, but seldome fatt, patient of heate and colde, but impatient of labour. Of nature he is prompt and ingenious, but servile crafty and inquisitive after newes, the simptomes of a conquered nation. Theyr speach hath been accused to be a whyning language, but that is among the beggars. I take it to be a smooth language well cōmixt of vouells and of consonants, and hath a pleasing cadence.

The better sorte are apparelled at all poynts like the English onely they retayne theyr mantle w^ch is a garment not indecent.[1] It differs nothing from a long cloke, but in the fringe at the upper end, w^ch in could weather they weare over their heades for warmth. Because they are cōmanded at publicke assemblyes to come in English habit, they have a tricke agaynst those times, to take off the fringe, and to putt on a cape, and after the assembly past, to resume it agayne. If you aske an Irishman for his cloke, he will tell you it is in his pockett and show you his cape. The churle is apparelled in this maner. His doublett is a pack saddle of canvase, or coarse cloth w^thout skirtes, but in winter he weares a frise cote. The trowse is a long stocke of frise, close to his thighes, and drawne on almost to his waste, but very scant, and the pryde of it is, to weare it so in suspence, that the beholder may still suspecte it to be falling from his arse. It is cutt w^th a pouche before, w^ch is drawne together w^th a string. he that will be counted a spruce ladd, tyes it up with a twisted band of two colours like the string of a clokebagge.

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[1] It is interesting to compare Gernon's description of the dress of the native Irish with Spenser's account of it a quarter of a century earlier. *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 89 (Prof. Morley's edition). Gernon's is written in a much more liberal spirit than the poet's. For a careful account of Irish dress see Joyce's *Social History of Ireland*, ii. p. 189 *et seq*. See also Fynes Moryson's observations at p. 321 *supra*.

An Irishman walking in London a cutpurse took it for a cheate, and gave him a slash. His broges are single soled, more rudely sewed then a shoo but more strong, sharp at the toe, and a flapp of leather left at the heele to pull them on. His hatt is a frise capp close to his head w^th^ two lappetts, to button under his chinne. And for his weapon he weares a skeyne w^ch^ is a knife of three fingers broad of the length of a dagger and sharpening towards the poynt w^th^ a rude wodden handle. He weares it poynt blanke at his codpiece. The ordinary kerne seldome weares a sword. They are also wedded to theyr mantle, they plow, they ditch, they thressh with theyr mantles on. But you look after the wenches.

The weomen of Ireland are very comely creatures, tall slender and upright. Of complexion very fayre & cleare-skinnd (but frecled), w^th^ tresses of bright yellow hayre, w^ch^ they chayne up in curious knotts, and devises. They are not strait laced nor plated in theyr youth, but suffred to grow at liberty so that you shall hardely see one crooked or deformed, but yet as the proverb is, soone ripe soone rotten. Theyr propensity to generation causeth that they cannot endure. They are wemen at thirteene, and olde wives at thirty. I never saw fayrer wenches nor fowler calliots,[1] so we call the old wemen. Of nature they are very kind and tractable. At meetings they offer themselves to be kiste w^th^ the hande extended to embrace you. The yong wenches salute you, conferre w^th^ you, drinke w^th^ you w^th^out controll. They are not so reserved as the English, yett very honest. Cuckoldry is a thing almost unknowne among the Irish. At solemne invitements, the Benytee, so we call the goodwife of the house meets at the hall dore w^th^ as many of her femall kindred as are about her all on a row; to leave any of them unkist, were an indignity though it were done by the lord president.

I come to theyr apparell. About Dublin they weare the English habit, mantles onely added thereunto, and they that goe in silkes, will weare a mantle of country making. In the country even among theyr Irish habitts they have sundry fashions. I will beginne wth the ornament of theyr heads. At Killkenny they weare broad beaver hatts coloured, edged wth a gold lace and faced wth velvett, wth a broad gould hatt band. At Waterford they weare capps, turned up wth furre and laced wth gold lace. At Lymerick they weare rolles of lynnen, each roll contayning twenty bandles of fyne lynnen clothe (A Bandle is half an ell[1]), and made up in forme of a myter. To this if it be could weather, there is added a muffler over theyr neck and chinne of like quantity of linnen; being so muffled, over all they will pinne on an English maske of blacke taffaty, w^{ch} is most rarely ridiculous to behold. In Conaught they weare rolles in forme of a cheese. In Thomond they weare kerchiefs, hanging downe to the middle of theyr backe. The maydes weare on the forepart of theyre head about foure yards of coloured ribbon smoothly layd, and theyr owne hayre playted behind. In other places they weare theyre hayre loose and cast behind. They weare no bands, but the ornament of theyr neckes is a carkanett of goldsmyths worke besett wth precious stones, some of them very ritch, but most of them gawdy and made of paynted glasse and at the end of them a crucifixe. They weare also braceletts, and many rings. I proceed to theyr gowns. Lend me yo^{r} imaginacōn, and I will cutt it out as well as the tayler. They have straight bodyes, and longe wasts, but theyre bodyes come no closer, but to the middle of the ribbe, the rest is supplyed wth lacing, from the topp of their breasts, to the bottome of theyr plackett, the ordinary sort have only theyr smockes between, but the better sort have a silke scarfe about theyre neck, w^{ch} they spread and pinne over theyre breasts. On the forepart of those bodyes they have a sett of broad silver buttons of goldsmiths worke sett round about. A sett of those buttons will be worth 40$^{s\cdot}$ some are worth 5$^{li\cdot}$ They have hanging sleeves, very narrow, but no arming sleeves, other then theyre smocke sleeves, or a wastcoate of stripped stuffe, onely they have a wrestband of the same cloth, and a lyst of the same to ioyne it to their winge, but no thing on the hinder part of the arme least they should weare out theyr elbowes. The better sort have sleeves of satten. The skyrt is a piece of rare artifice. At every bredth of three fingers they sew it quite through wth a welte, so that it seemeth so many lystes putt together. That they do for strength, they girde theyr gowne wth a silke girdle, the tassell whereof must hang downe poynt blanke before to the fringe of theyr peticotes, but I will not descend to theyr petycotes, least you should thinke that I have bene under them. They beginne to weare knitt stockins coloured, but they have not disdayned to weare stockins of raw whyte frise, and broges. They weare theyr mantles also as well wth in doors as wth out. Theyr mantles are commonly of a browne blew colour wth fringe alike, but those that love to be gallant were them of greene, redd, yellow, and other light colours, wth fringes diversifyed. An ordinary mantle is worthe 4^{li}, those in the country w^{ch} cannot go to the price weare whyte sheets mantlewise. I would not have you suppose that all the Irish are thus strangely attyred as I have described. The old women are loath to be shifted out of theyr auncient habitts, but the younger sort, especially in gentlemens houses are brought up to resemble the English, so that it is to be hoped, that the next age will weare out these disguyses. Of theyr cleanlynes I will not speak.

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[1] It is difficult to account for the etymology of calliot. It is perhaps the same word as *callet*, a scold. Or it may be connected with *callot*, which Nares defines as 'a kind of scull cap or any plain coif' such as matrons might wear.

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[1] 'The clothing is a sort of frieze, of about twenty inches broad, whereof two foot, called a *bandle*, is worth from 3½*d.* to 18*d.* Of this, seventeen bandles make a man's suit, and twelve make a cloak.'—Sir W. Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, chap. xii.

. . . .[1] which hidden sure is best.
Happy is he, that will believe, and nevere seek ye rest.

Lett us not passe by theyr entertaynem^{ts}, I will not leade you to the baser cabbins, where you shall have no drink but Bonyclabber,[2] milk that is sowred to the condition of buttermilk, nor no meate, but mullagham (mallabanne), a kinde of choke-daw cheese, and blew butter, and no bread at yo^{r} first cōming in, but if you stay half an hower you shall have a cake of meale unboulted, and mingled wth butter baken on an yron called a gridle, like a pudding cake.[1] But we will goe to the gentleman that dwells in the castle. See the company yonder, they are ryding to a coshering, lett us strike in among them. (Cosherings are publick invitations, by occasion of marriages, neighbourhood or the like, and for the present open house.) Marke how they be mounted, some upon sidesadles, and some upon pillyons. The Irish saddle is called a pillyon, and it is made on this forme. The tree is as of an ordinary saddle, but the seate is a playne table of two foote longe, and a foote broad or larger, high mounted, and covered with a piece of chequered blanketting. It is not tyed wth girths, but it is fastned wth a brest plate before, and a crupper behind, and a sursingle in the middle. The men ryde upon it astryde, wth theyr leggs very farr extended, and towards the horse neck. If the horse be dull, they spurregall him in the shoulder. It seemeth very uneasy to us, but they affirme it to be an easy kind of ryding. If it be, it is very usefull, for a man may ryde astryde, a woman may ryde a syde, and a man may ryde wth a woman behind him, all upon the like saddle. It is an excellent fashion to steale a wench, and to carry her away.

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[1] The whole of the quotation is not decipherable in the MS.

[2] See p. 230 *supra*.

We are come to the castle already. The castles are built very strong, and wth narow stayres, for security. The hall is the uppermost room, lett us go up, you shall not come downe agayne till tomorrow. Take no care of yo^{r} horses, they shall be sessed among the tenants. The lady of the house meets you wth her trayne. I have instructed you before how to accost them. Salutations paste, you shall be presented wth all the drinkes in the house, first the ordinary beere, then aquavitae, then sacke, then olde-ale, the lady tastes it, you must not refuse it. The fyre is prepared in the middle of the hall, where you may sollace yo^{r}selfe till supper time, you shall not want sacke and tobacco. By this time the table is spread and plentifully furnished wth variety of meates, but ill cooked, and wth out sauce. Neyther shall there be wanting a pasty or two of redd deare (that is more com̃on wth us then the fallow). The dishe w^{ch} I make choyce of is the swelld mutton, and it is prepared thus. They take a principall weather, and before they kill him, it is fitt that he be shorne, being killed they singe him in his woolly skynne like a bacon, and rost him by ioynts wth the skynne on, and so serve it to the table. They say that it makes the flesh more firme, and preserves the fatt. I make choyce of it to avoyd uncleanely dressing. They feast together with great iollyty and healths around; towards the middle of supper, the harper beginns to tune and singeth Irish rymes of auncient making. If he be a good rymer, he will make one song to the present occasion. Supper being ended, it is at your liberty to sitt up, or to depart to yo^{r} lodgeing, you shall have company in both kind. When you come to yo^{r} chamber, do not expect canopy and curtaynes. It is very well if your bedd content you, and if the company be greate, you may happen to be bodkin in the middle. In the morning there will be brought unto you a cupp of aquavitæ. The aquavitæ or usquebath of Ireland is not such an extraction, as is made in England, but farre more qualifyed, and sweetened with licorissh. It is made potable, and is of the colour of Muscadine. It is a very wholsome drinke, and naturall to digest the crudityes of the Irish feeding. You may drink a knaggin wthout offence, that is the fourth parte of a pynte. Breakfast is but the repetitions of supper. When you are disposing of yourself to depart, they call for Dogh a dores, that is, to drink at the doore, there you are presented agayne wth all the drinkes in the house, as at yo^{r} first entrance. Smacke them over, and lett us departe.

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[1] Dinely's enumeration of the food of the people (*Tour*, p. 23) is very similar to Gernon's. But by Dinely's time, about two generations later, potatoes had become part of 'the dyet of the vulgar Irish.'

Should I enter into a discourse of the conditions of the people, theyr pollicyes, theyr assemblyes called parly hills, theyre husbandry, theyr huntings, w^{ch} are strange kind of excursions, the passages of theyr lives, the antickes at theyr buryalls, I could tell as much as most of my time, but I liste not to make it a labour. A word of the provisions of Ireland and but a word.

What feeds on earth, or flyes in th'ayre, or swim̃eth in ye water, Lo, Ireland hath it of her owne, and lookes not for a cater. But I have drawne you too farre a field, keepe your self in England, farewell.

[*Endorsed*: A discourse of Ireland by L. Gernons.]

IV

TRAVELS OF SIR WILLIAM BRERETON IN IRELAND, 1635

This account of Ireland in 1635 is extracted from the 'Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, 1634–1635,' of Sir William Brereton, Bart., the well-known Parliamentary general.[1] Brereton's journal of his travels, after remaining for two centuries in manuscript, was printed in 1844 from the original in the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, and forms the first volume of the publications of the Chetham Society. The manuscript had previously undergone some curious vicissitudes, and a high testimony to the interest and value of Brereton's narrative of his adventures at home and abroad is supplied in Sir Walter Scott's warm approbation. Scott strongly urged its publication, actually 'tendering his own services as editor, and offering to supply all the necessary explanatory notes.' Most people will share the regret of Mr. Hawkins, the editor of the Chetham Society's volume, 'that this most valuable offer should have been declined.'

Although the existence of the manuscript was known to writers on Irish antiquities for many years prior to its being printed, Brereton's narrative has been little noticed by writers on Ireland. Monck Mason was shown it by Sir William Betham, and in a note at p. 7 of his 'History of St. Patrick's Cathedral,' published in 1820, he printed Brereton's description of the appearance of that edifice in 1635. Dubourdieu in his 'Statistical Survey of the County of Down,' published in 1802, printed the paragraphs of the journal which relate to that county, and the same writer also refers to the narrative in his 'Survey of the County of Antrim' (1812). Dubourdieu mentions, on the authority of Bishop Percy, with whose ownership the Chetham Society's pedigree of the manuscript begins, that the journal belonged to the well-known antiquary, General Vallancey, who had bought it at an auction in 1791. It was doubtless on Vallancey's death in 1812 that Bishop

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[1] For his character as a soldier see *Clarendon*, ii. p. 112.

Percy acquired the manuscript.[1] Portions of the Irish narrative were also printed by the Rev. Sir Francis Lynch Blosse in the 'Church of Ireland Magazine' for 1826, but without any attempt at annotation, and in D'Alton's 'History of Drogheda' part of Brereton's account of that city is given, as the description of 'an anonymous traveller.' The fact that the Irish journal occupies barely a fifth of the Chetham Society's publication has caused it to be overlooked even by writers interested in the historical topography of Ireland, as well as by the historians. It is not mentioned in Anderson's 'Book of British Topography,' and the writer of the notice of Brereton in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' though he states that Brereton's travels extended to Ireland, mentions the diary only as affording information regarding the social condition of England and Scotland. Neither Froude nor Lecky in their rapid surveys of seventeenth century history, nor Gardiner in the admirable Irish chapters of his chief work, makes any mention of Brereton's narrative. Although the Chetham Society's edition of the Travels is now out of copyright, the Irish Section has not been printed here without the courteous concurrence of the present secretary. Those notes to the Chetham edition which have been utilised in this volume bear the initials of Mr. Hawkins. For the remainder the present editor is responsible.

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[1] Dubourdieu's *Statistical Survey of the County of Down*, in the Royal Dublin Society's series of Surveys, Dublin, 1802, p. 307.

TRAVELS OF SIR WILLIAM BRERETON IN IRELAND,
1635

July 4.—We went from hence[1] to the Port Patrick, which is foul winter way over the mossy moors, and there we found only one boat, though yesternight there were fifteen boats here. We hired a boat of about ten ton for five horses of ours, and for five Yorkshiremen and horses; for this we paid 1*l.* and conditioned that no more horses should come aboard, save only two or three of an Irish laird's, who then stayed for a passage, and carried his wife and three horses. His name is Levinston, laird Dun Draide.[2] Here we shipped our horses two hours before we went aboard. It is a most craggy, filthy passage, and very dangerous for horses to go in and out; a horse may easily be lamed, spoiled, and thrust into the sea; and when any horses land here, they are thrown into the sea, and swim out. Here was demanded from us by our host, Thomas Marsh-banke, a custom of 2*s.* an horse, which I stumbled at, and answered that if he had authority to demand and receive it, I was bound to pay it, otherwise I was free to pay or refuse: herewith he was satisfied, and declined his further demand. Here is a pretty chapel lately built by Sir Hugh Montgomeries,[3] laird of Dunskie on this side, where he hath a castle, and of Newton de Clanboyes[1] on the Irish side, where he hath a market town.

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[1] Hugh Boyd's inn at the Chapel, now Stranraer. Brereton elsewhere speaks of this house as the best inn in Scotland.

[2] Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth had charters of the lands of Duntreath, the place perhaps here called Dundraide.—E. H.

[3] Sir Hugh Montgomery, created Viscount Montgomery of the Great Ards by James I. in 1622, died in the year following Brereton's visit. He was the ancestor of the Earls of Mount Alexander, a title created by Charles II. at his restoration, which became extinct in 1758. See the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, by the Rev. George Hill; Belfast, 1869.

The boatman that carried us in a bark of about fifteen ton, his name was David Dickie, who hath a dainty, fine, pretty, nimble boy to his son, who will make a good sailor. The boat is a good sailing vessel, with good expert mariners, but not manned with sufficient number of men. She took in four horses more than we covenanted, and was so much overthronged with passengers as we had not every man his own length allowed to lie in at ease. Our horses were shipped about two hour, the wind being north-west; but turning into the south-west, or rather west-south-west, we went not aboard until after three hour; the wind then being so much averse and so directly against us, as that we could not get out of the haven, so as they were constrained to haul out with a cock-boat a good way. We were got clear out of the haven about four hour, and before we had sailed a league, the wind was more averse; but presently favouring us something more with a full gale of wind, we had so speedy a passage as that by six hour we were within sixteen miles of the coast of Ireland. The wind then failed, and was sometimes very weak and poor, and sometimes due west and directly averse, yet we passed on though slowly, and about eight or nine mile from the coast of Ireland we passed the Strangawre,[2] which is a mighty high running channel, where there is a concurrence and confluence of three strong tides, which run about nine or ten mile in length, and about two mile in breadth; these occasioned by the islands and points of land; but when we passed them, the wind was so weak, as it was there more calmed and less troubled than in any other part of our passage. We had no sooner passed the Strangawre, but (although when we went aboard it was very calm and like to be fair weather, which gave encouragement to them to hazard a passage by night) the wind failed us, and we were much affected with the apprehension of the inconvenience of lying at sea all night, because the tides are so strong as they would carry us with the ebbing water down towards the isles of Scotland, the wind also being either so averse as to bring us back to the shore of Scotland, or to concur with the tide to carrry us down towards the isles of Scotland; but then suddenly arose a strong wind and storms of rain, which did come out of the west and from the landward, which did much perplex the sailors, so as they were constrained to take down, and did in all haste take down, the lower part of the mainsail and the foresail, which they call the main bowline or main bonnet. Two or three of these showers and storms did follow one another, which though they did increase and renew our fears, yet it pleased God (who knows better what might conduce unto our safety than ourselves) to make these storms the instruments of bringing us to harbour about two hour upon the coast of Ireland, under the Black Rock,[1] which is in the island of Mague;[2] hereby we were sheltered all night from most cruel, violent, and tempestuous storms, which did much affect and discourage us, though we lay at anchor and under the shelter of a high hill. Here we took up our lodging in this open boat, and suffered a wet cold lodging, yet it pleased God that I took no cold, nor did any other distemper seize upon me save only a faintingness when I came on shore, and an extreme purging, although the sea wrought effectually and plentifully with me, and purged me more by vomit only when I was at sea than ever formerly, so as my stomach was not only cleared and discharged of phlegm, but also of abundance of choler and green stuff.

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[1] Now Newtownards. The borough received a charter from James I., and continued to return two members to the Irish Parliament from 1613 until the Union, when it was disfranchised.

[2] Strangford is so called from the strong and dangerous currents of the lough or fiord.—Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, i. p. 107.

'Twixt Erwin in Scotland and Colrane[3] in Ireland are the highest running seas about the sound of Raughrick,[4] which is an island belonging to the Earl of Antrim. The shortest passage 'twixt Scotland and Ireland is from Mule Kenteir,[5] a rock or point of the Highlanders in Scotland, which is sixteen mile to the Fair-head or Marble-head[1] in Ireland; this is only a passage for the Highlanders; from Port Patrick to Carrick-Fergus is about nineteen leagues, and to Donoh-a-Dee,[2] or Groomes Port, about fifteen leagues, as one of the sailors informed me. At our landing in Ireland, the ship came as near the shore as she durst, and all the horses were thrown into the sea, and did swim to land, and climb a great steep rock.

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[1] Black Head.

[2] Island Magee.

[3] Irvine in Ayrshire; Coleraine, co. Londonderry.

[4] Rathlin Island.

[5] Mull of Cantire.

July 5.—Upon the Lord's day in the morning we went ashore the coast of Ireland, in the Isle of Mague, where we were landed upon the rock, whence we found a difficult and tedious passage; and at the top of the hill we were very civilly and courteously entertained by a Scotch gentleman, who lives in a mean, poor house, hath good store of corn, milk, calves, and kine; hence we went to Carrick-Fergus, corruptly called Knock-Fergus, which is four miles, and came thither about two hour. Took up our inn in Mrs. Wharton's house, who is a Chester woman, a neat woman in her house; good lodging and usage, sixpence ordinary, fourpence a night hay and oats, sixpence peck provender.

This town, so called from one Fergus, who built the castle, and from Carrick, which in Irish signifies a rock;[3] and indeed the town may well take his denomination from the castle, which is seated upon a rock, and commands both town and haven. Almost all the houses in this town were built castle-wise, so as though the Irish made spoil of and burnt the town, yet were they preserved unburnt. This is but a pretty little town within the walls of a very small extent and capacity; the only grace of this town is the Lord Chichester's house,[4] which is a very stately house, or rather like a prince's palace, whereunto there belongs a stately gate-house, and graceful terrace and walk before the house, as is at Denton my Lord Fairfax house.[1] A very fair hall there is, and a stately staircase and fair dining-room carrying the proportion of the hall; fine garden and mighty spacious orchards, and they say they bear good store of fruit. I observed on either side of his garden there is a dove-house, placed one opposite to the other in the corner of the garden, and 'twixt the garden and orchards a most convenient place for apricots or some such tender fruit, to be planted against the dove-house wall, that by the advantage of the heat thereof they may be rendered most fruitful, and come sooner to maturity, but this use is not made thereof. Very rich furniture belongs unto this house, which seems much to be neglected and begins to go something to decay. It is a most stately building, only the windows and rooms and whole frame of the house is over-large and vast; and in this house you may observe the inconvenience of great buildings which require an unreasonable charge to keep them in repair, so as they are a burthen to the owners of them.

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[1] Fair Head or Benmore in Antrim.

[2] Donaghadee, co. Down.

[3] According to McSkimin, the historian of Carrickfergus, who follows Campion, the name commemorates King Fergus, first King of Scotland, said to have been lost in a storm off this place, B.C. 320.

[4] *Cf.* the description of the Castle and town of Carrickfergus in the *Description of M. Jorevin de Rocheford*, p. 423 *infra*. See also McSkimin's *History of Carrickfergus*. The Lord Chichester referred to by Brereton was Edward, second Baron and first Viscount Chichester, brother of the well-known Lord Deputy of Ireland, by whom the mansion at Carrickfergus was built in 1618, on the site of a suppressed Franciscan monastery. An excellent account of

There is maintained in this town two companies of soldiers, the one a troop of horse, the other of foot, consisting of fifty in either company, under the command of my Lord of Chichester's eldest son.[2] The troop of horse were lately sent to attend my Lord Deputy, in this progress very completely furnished, well horsed, and in red coats all suitable.

It is reported of this town that they have been always loyal and faithful to the state of England.[3] This is seated

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Joymount, as the mansion was called from Chichester's patron, Mountjoy, will be found in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vii. p. 1, in an article on 'The Palace of Carrickfergus.' About 1780 Joymount was pulled down to make way for a gaol and court house. See also the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 424.

[1] Near Ilkley in Yorkshire.

[2] Arthur, the eldest son of Viscount Chichester, was, in March 1647, created Earl of Donegall in his father's lifetime.

[3] Carrickfergus is reported to have been founded by Hugh de Lacy, the younger, who endowed a Franciscan friary there in 1232. The statement in the text is substantially true. In 1316 the town was taken by the Bruces and held against the English forces for two years. And in 1573 it was sacked by Sir Brian MacPhelimy. But with these exceptions it remained at all times a stronghold of English power.

upon a loch which comes from the sea, and is navigable with the tide for small vessels to the quay. This loch runs all along to Belfast, which is eight mile from Carrickfergus, and is thither also navigable; it is about three or four miles broad, well furnished with fish, and also with fowl in winter. Here upon that part of this loch next to Belfast I observed a convenient seat. From Carrickfergus to Belfast you ride all upon the loch-side; it is most base way, and deep in winter and wet weather, though now it is hard and dry.

July 6.—This town of Carrickfergus is governed by a mayor, sheriff, and aldermen, endowed with great privileges, and is the shire town. At Belfast my Lord Chichester hath another dainty stately house (which is indeed the glory and beauty of that town also), where he is most resident, and is now building an outer brick wall before his gates. This is not so large and vast as the other, but more convenient and commodious; the very end of the loch toucheth upon his garden and backside; here also are dainty orchards, gardens, and walks planted.[1] Near here unto, Mr. Arthur Hill (son and heir to Sir Moyses Hill) [2] hath a brave plantation, which he holds by lease, which still is for thirty years to come; the land is my Lord Chichester's, and the lease was made for sixty years to Sir Moyses Hill by the old Lord Chichester. This plantation it is said doth yield him a 1,000*l.* per annum. Many Lancashire and Cheshire men are here planted; with some of them I conversed. They sit upon a rack rent, and pay 5*s.* or 6*s.* an acre for good ploughing land, which now is clothed with excellent good corn. From Belfast to Linsley Garven [3] is about seven mile, and is a paradise in comparison of any part of Scotland. Linsley Garven is well seated, but neither the town nor country thereabouts well planted, being almost all woods, and moorish until you come to Dromore. This town belongs to my Lord Conoway,[1] who hath there a good handsome house, but far short of both my Lord Chichester's houses, and this house is seated upon an hill, upon the side whereof is planted a garden and orchard, and at the bottom of which hill runs a pleasant river which abounds with salmon ; hereabouts my Lord Conoway is now endeavouring a plantation, though the land hereabouts be the poorest and barrenest I have yet seen, yet may it be made good land with labour and charge.

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[1] Belfast Castle, long the seat of the Earls of Donegall, originally a possession of the O'Neills, was granted to Sir Arthur Chichester by James I. The splendid mansion built by Chichester was destroyed by fire in 1708. The site is now occupied by the Castle Market. See Benn's *History of Belfast*, i. pp. 15, 85, 293.

[2] Sir Moyses Hill, Provost Marshal of Ulster, came to Ireland in 1573, and was ancestor of the Marquesses of Downshire. The plantation was at Hillsboro', co. Antrim, where Sir M. Hill first settled. Hillsboro' Fort in co. Down was not built till 1641. Benn's *History of Belfast*, i. p. 85. See also the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, iv. p. 80.

[3] Or Lisnegarvey, the modern Lisburn.

From Linsley Garven to Dromore is about seven mile. Herein we lodged at Mr. Haven's house, which is directly opposite to the Bishop of Dromore[2] his house, which is a little timber house of no state nor receipt. His chaplain's name is Leigh, born in Manchester. This is a very dear house : 8*d.* ordinary ourselves, 6*d.* our servants, and we were over-reckoned in beer. This town, as it is the seat of the bishop of this see, so he is lord of it, and it doth wholly belong unto him. In this diocese, as Mr. Leigh his chaplain reported, this is the worst part of the kingdom, and the poorest land and ground, yet the best church livings, because there are no impropriations.

At my coming to Carrickfergus, and being troubled with an extreme flux, not as yet come to so great height as a bloody flux, my hostess, Miss Wharton, directed me the use of cinnamon in burnt claret wine, or rather red wine, as also the syrup and conserve of sloes well boiled, after they have been strained and mingled according to discretion with sugar, they are to be boiled with sugar until they be cleared, having been first boiled in water until they be softened, and then strained.[3]

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[1] Edward, second Viscount Conway and Killultagh, succeeded his father in 1631, and died in 1655, leaving an only son, at whose death in 1683 the title became extinct. These Irish estates passed ultimately to the Marquesses of Hertford.

[2] Theophilus Buckworth was Bishop of Dromore from 1613 to 1652. From the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641 until his death he resided at Cambridge, his native city.

[3] A lengthy passage descriptive only of Brereton's ailments during his Irish

July 7.—We left Dromore and went to the Newrie,[1] which is sixteen miles. This is a most difficult way for a stranger to find out. Herein we wandered, being lost amongst the Irish towns. The Irish houses are the poorest cabins I have seen, erected in the middle of the fields and grounds, which they farm and rent. This is a wild country, not inhabited, planted, nor enclosed, yet it would be good corn if it were husbanded. I gave an Irishman to bring us into the way a groat, who led us like a villain directly out of the way and so left us, so as by this deviation it was three hour before we came to the Newrie. Much land there is about this town belonging to Mr. Bagnall,[2] nothing well planted. He hath a castle in this town, but is for most part resident at Green Castle; a great part of this town is his, and it is reported that he hath a 1,000*l*. or 1,500*l*. per annum in this country. This is but a poor town, and is much Irish, and is navigable for boats to come up unto with the tide. Here we baited at a good inn, the sign of the Prince's Arms. Hence to Dundalk is eight mile; stony, craggy, hilly, and uneven, but a way it is nothing difficult to find. Before you come to Dundalk you may discern four or five towers or castles seated upon the seaside.

This town of Dundalk hath been a town of strength, and is still a walled town, and a company of fifty soldiers were here in garrison under the command of Sir Faithful Fortescue.[3] This town is governed by two bailiffs, sheriffs,

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tour and the remedies he applied to them is omitted here. The bloody flux and other diseases prevalent in Ireland in the seventeenth century are scientifically discussed according to the learning of his day by Boate in his *Ireland's Naturall History*, chap. xxiv. See pp. 130–1 of the Chetham Society's edition.

[1] Now Newry. So called from the Irish Iubhar, meaning a yew tree. St. Patrick is said to have planted a yew tree at the monastery here.—Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, i. p. 512.

[2] Newry was granted as fee by James I. to Marshal Bagnal in 1613, in which year the town was incorporated by charter. *Cf.* the account of Newry in Bodley's Visit to Lecale, p. 330 *supra*.

[3] Sir Faithful Fortescue, 1581–1666, Constable of Carrickfergus Castle, took an important part in the Civil War both in Ireland and England. At Edeghill his action in going over to Prince Rupert with his cavalry had much to do with the fortunes of that fight.

and aldermen;[1] the greatest part of the inhabitants of the town are popishly affected, and although my Lord Deputy, at the last election of burgesses for the Parliament, commended unto them Sir Faithful Fortescue and Sir Arthur Teringham,[2] yet they rejected both, and elected a couple of recusants. One of the present bailiffs is popish. Abundance of Irish, both gentlemen and others, dwell in this town, wherein they dare to take the boldness to go to mass, openly. This town seated upon the sea, so as barks may come within a convenient distance with the flood; much low, level, flat land hereabouts, which is often overflowed in the winter, and here is abundance of fowl, and a convenient seat. Here we lodged at one Mrs. Veasie's house, a most mighty fat woman; she saith she is a Cheshire woman, near related in blood to the Breretons, desired much to see me; so fat she is, as she is so unwieldy she can scarce stand or go without crutches. This reported one of the best inns in the north of Ireland; ordinary 8*d.* and 6*d.*, only the knave tapster over-reckoned us in drink.

July 8.—We left Dundalk and came to Tredaugh,[3] which is accounted sixteen mile, but they are as long as twenty-two mile.[4] About five mile hence we saw Sir Faithful Fortescue's house or castle,[5] wherein for most part he is resident, which he holds by a long lease upon a small rent under my Lord Primate of Armagh. This is a dainty, pleasant, healthful, and commodious seat, and it is worth unto him about [ ]. During ten miles riding from this town, much rich corn land, and the country well planted; the other six miles towards Tredaugh, until you come near unto it, not so rich nor so well husbanded.

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[1] See D'Alton's *History of Dundalk.*

[2] Sir Arthur Tyringham was of considerable influence in Ireland, and upon the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641 was commissioned, with Arthur, afterwards first Earl of Donegall, to command in chief within the county of Antrim.

[3] Drogheda.

[4] Sixteen Irish miles are the exact equivalent of twenty-two English ones The distances as given by Brereton are usually in Irish miles.

[5] Dromiskin, co. Louth.

This town, as it is the largest and best built town I have yet seen in Ireland, so it is most commodiously seated upon a good navigable river, called Boyne, whereinto flows the sea in so deep a channel (though it be very narrow) as their ships may come to their doors.[1] This river is built on both sides, and there is on either side a convenient quay; a stone wall built all along the river, so as a ship may lie close unto this quay, and may unload upon her. It is like the quay of Newcastle, and those channels I have seen in Holland in their streets. This town is also commodiously situated for fish and fowl. It is governed by a mayor, sheriffs, and twenty-four aldermen; most of these, as also the other inhabitants of the town, popishly affected, insomuch as those that have been chosen mayors, who for the most part have been recusants, have hired others to discharge that office.[2] One man (it is said) hath been hired by deputation to execute that place thirteen times; the present mayor also is but a deputy, and the reason why they make coy to execute that office is because they will avoid being necessitated to go to church.

I observed in this city divers fair, neat, well-built houses, and houses and shops well furnished, so as I did conceive this to be a rich town, the inhabitants more civilised and better apparelled. But this is graced with nothing more than my Lord Primate's palace, which is seated near unto the east gate. This is a neat, handsome, and convenient house, built within this twenty years by Primate Hampton.[3] The building is foursquare, of wood, rough-cast and not high; an handsome, plain, though long and narrow hall, two dining-rooms, one little neat gallery which leads into the chapel, which also [is a] pretty little plain and convenient chapel, whereinto there lead two ways, the one at the great door out of the hall or court, the other, which is more private, out of the gallery; there is a little pair of organs herein. Whilst Dr. Usher[1] (my Lord Primate that now is) is here resident, he preacheth constantly every Lord's day in the morning in the church. There is a sermon therein in the afternoon, and after the same is ended, one of my Lord's chaplains repeats his sermon in his own chapel, whither not only all his own family resort, but also (the common door being open) those of the town that please may resort thereunto. In one of the dining-rooms is this conceit: the arms of this see and bishopric, and Bishop Hampton's own arms or coat enquartered together, and underneath is this inscription or motto: 'Fac tu similiter.' Here is a pretty neat garden, and over against the window in the gallery end, upon a bank, these words in fair great letters are written: 'O man, remember the last great day!' The bank is bare, the proportion of the letters is framed and cut in grass. In this palace the Primate is most resident when he is not at Dublin.

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[1] *Cf.* the description of Drogheda, by Jorevin de Rocheford, pp. 417–8 *infra*.

[2] See D'Alton's *History of Drogheda*.

[3] During the wars of the O'Neills Armagh was practically inaccessible to the Primates, and their principal residence was at Drogheda as the nearest point in their diocese to Dublin. Primate Hampton, however, repaired the cathedral, and built a palace at Armagh as well as at Drogheda. He was Primate from 1613 to 1624.

In this town are two churches, one placed on the one side the river, the other on the other, over which is a wooden bridge. In the great church[2] my Lord Primate preacheth every Sabbath. In the body of the church, over against the pulpit, the communion table is placed lengthwise in the aisle; the body of the church is kept in good repair. The chancel, as no use is made of it, so it is wholly neglected and in no good repair; only herein is a fair monument for my Lord Moore,[3] his lady, Sir Edward Moore and Sir Thomas Moore, his sons, and their wives and children; amongst these is one erected for the Lady Salisbury,[4] now living at Chester. On the other side, opposite hereunto, is Sir Francis Roe's monument, who died when mayor; he is pictured in his scarlet gown.[1]

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[1] Primate James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, 1624 to 1655. His uncle, Henry Ussher, was Primate from 1595 to 1613.

[2] St. Peter's, Drogheda.

[3] Sir Garret Moore was created Baron Moore 1615, and Viscount Moore of Drogheda 1621. He was accused of complicity with Tyrone, but was acquitted, and was subsequently a principal undertaker in the Ulster plantation. He died in 1627, having married Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Colley, of Castle Carbery, county Kildare.

[4] Lady Sal*u*sbury, widow of Sir Edward Moore, married as her second husband Sir Henry Salusbury of Leeweny, in Denbighshire, who was created a baronet in 1619. She was a daughter of Sir John Vaughan, Lord Carbery.

July 9.—From Tredaugh we came to the Swordes, which is fourteen miles thence, and six from thence to Dublin. Here we lodged at the sign of the Boot, a tavern, and were well used, and found far better accommodation in so mean a village than could be expected. The way from Tredaugh hither as dainty fine a way as I ever rid, and a most pleasant country; greatest part corn upon the very sea-coast, almost Wirrall-like,[2] and very good and well-eared corn; the barley now beginning to turn, and will be ripe before the rye. Upon the left hand, about three miles from Tredaugh, my Lord N.[3] hath a pleasant-seated house or castle, the prospect whereof commands the sea, and a most plain, rich-champaign corn country towards the land.

About two or three mile from Swordes my Lord Chief Baron[4] hath a dainty, pleasant, high-built wood house, and much right and brave land about it, this placed on the right hand; his name is [Sir Richard Bolton]. On the other hand, about half mile, Sir [ ] hath a gallant pleasant seat[1]; also[2] [ ]. Here I saw very fair large English kine; I enquired the price, which was about 2*l.* or 2*l.* 10*s.* or 3*l.* These worth in England double the price. Land here sold for about twenty years' purchase, set some for 5*s.* or 6*s.* an acre, and meadowing for 2*l.* an acre, some for 1*l.* Some land about Dublin is set for 2*l.*, 3*l.*, and 4*l.* an acre.

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[1] Sir Francis Roe was a distinguished soldier in the Irish campaigns of Essex and Mountjoy. He was knighted by Sir George Carew 29 Sept. 1603. See Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*. His name however is not in the list of mayors as given in D'Alton's *History of Drogheda*.

[2] Wirral, a hundred of Cheshire, north-west of Chester, between the river Dee and the Mersey, which now gives its name to the north-western division of the county.

[3] The only nobleman of Ireland at this time with this initial was Viscount Netterville, whose handsome residence was at Dowth, upon the banks of the Boyne.—E. H.

[4] Sir Richard Bolton, 1570–1648, Attorney-General of the Court of Wards, Lord Chief Baron from 1625 to 1639, when he became Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He edited the *Statutes of Ireland*, 1621, an early legal treatise on the office of Justice of the Peace for Ireland, and has been credited with the authorship of a 'Declaration setting forth . . how the Laws of England came to be of force in Ireland.' (See Harris's *Hibernica*, part ii.) Bolton, who was created a peer by Charles I. in 1645, was a close confidant of Strafford, and was impeached by the Irish House of Commons for his share in that statesman's policy in 1641. The house mentioned, which was named Brazeel, was burned by Owen Roe O'Neill in 1647.

We came to the city of Dublin, July 9, about 10 hour. This is the metropolis of the kingdom of Ireland, and is beyond all exception the fairest, richest, best-built city I have met with in this journey (except York and Newcastle). It is far beyond Edinborough; only one street in Edinborough (the great long street) surpasseth any street here. Here is the Lord Deputy[3] resident in the Castle, and the state and council of this kingdom. There is also an Archbishop of Dublin, which is the second in the kingdom. Archbishoprics in Ireland: 1. Armathe; 2. Dublin; 3. Casiell; 4. Tuam. Bishoprics in Ireland about eighteen, as they are now united.[4]

This city of Dublin so called, it is seated upon the river Liffie, which is not navigable about the bridge, nor far, nor flows not above one mile higher. The river is no good channel, but full of shelves and sands; and here is a very vile barred haven, over which few ships can pass that carry four hundred ton or thereabouts. The harbour here is very naked, plain, and the least shelter and protection from storms that I have found in any haven; the most ships ride by the Ringe's end, which is a point which runs into the sea, but it is so low, as it is very poor and bare shelter, and little defence against the violence of the storms, so the King's ship which lies here to scour the coasts (which is said to be the 'Ninth

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[1] This was probably Brackenstown, afterwards the residence of the Viscounts Molesworth as the heirs of Chief Baron Bysse. See D'Alton's *History of the Co. Dublin*, p. 328.

[2] This may have been Lissen Hall, the seat of Sir Edward Bolton.

[3] Thomas Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford.

[4] Besides the archbishops there appear to have been twenty Irish bishops at this time: Ardfert, Clogher, Cloyne, Clonfert, Cork, Derry, Down, Connor, Dromore, Elphin, Ferns, Kildare, Kilfenora, Killala, Killaloe, Kilmore, Limerick, Ossory, Raphoe, Waterford.

Whelpe,'[1] and the 'Bonaventure,' a tall stout ship) is constrained to remove for harbour, sometimes under the Head of Howard,[2] sometimes under the opposite shore.

As I came from Dublin to Hacquett's town,[3] I saw the head of the Liffie, where she breaks out of the mountains; this is not above seven miles from Dublin, and yet fetcheth a course of forty mile before it come to Dublin.

There are about thirteen churches in this city. Christ Church, a cathedral, where the Lord Deputy and State frequent; the chancel is only made use of, not the body of the church, wherein are very great strong pillars, though very short; the chancel is but plain and ordinarily kept, the body of the church a more stately building. St. Patrick's Church is a cathedral and prime church in this kingdom. It is denominated from St. Patrick, the tutelar saint and protector of this kingdom. It is in best repair and most neatly whited and kept of any church I have seen in Scotland or Ireland, especially in the chancel, wherein it is curiously and very artificially arched, and whited overhead. The body of the church is a strong ancient structure, wherein are great and strong pillars, but this is not floored overhead. This structure affords two parish churches under one roof, in either of which there is a sermon every Sabbath. In a corner, a small part of the middle aisle, there is a pretty, neat, convenient place framed, wherein there is a sermon every Sabbath at ten hour; and this though it be very little and narrow, yet it is sufficiently enlarged to receive a great congregation, by reason of capacious galleries round about, wherein are abundance of seats placed one above another with great advantage of room. There is also at one hour in the afternoon a sermon in the quire, in the higher end whereof was a very famous, sumptuous and glorious tomb of my Lord of Corke's.[4] This by the commandment of the

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[1] See p. 405 *infra*.

[2] Howth.

[3] Hacketstown, in the co. Carlow, is about fifteen miles from the head of the Liffey in the Dublin mountains. The river runs a devious course through Kildare and Dublin, as stated in the text. See p. 386 *infra*.

[4] This monument, erected by the well-known Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, to the memory of his second wife Katherine, daughter of Sir Geoffrey

Deputy is taken down, and is now to be erected in the side of the same quire. The marble whereof this was made was gotten within two miles of this city.

St. Warburr's is a kind of a cathedral;[1] herein preacheth judicious Dr. Hoile,[2] about ten in morning and three in afternoon, a most zealous preacher, and general scholar in all manner of learning, a mere cynic. St. Owen's[3] is the parish wherein my Lord Primate was born; and here in this church doth he preach every Lord's day at eight hour, whilst he is in town. I heard him upon Sabbath last, the most excellent, able man, and most abundantly holy, gracious man that I have heard. St. Bride's where Mr. Jerom[4] preacheth.

July 10.—This day I dined with my Lord Primate of Ireland, Dr. Usher, who is a tall, proper, comely man, about fifty-six years of age; a plain, familiar, courteous man, who spends the whole day at his study, except meal time. He seems to be a man of pregnant parts, who hath good intelligence; he is well read in antiquities. His entertainment

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Fenton, was at the time of Brereton's visit the subject of a controversy which may be said to have had consequences affecting the course of English history, since it was to the quarrel with the powerful Earl and his family, originating in this dispute, that the vehemence of the Irish evidence by which the charges against Strafford were supported on his trial was largely due. The monument is now at the extreme west end, on the south side of the nave. See Mason's *History of St. Patrick's*, notes, p. liii. The monument which, as visitors to St. Patrick's Cathedral are aware, is very massive and elaborate, was designed, as we learn from Lord Cork's diary, by 'Mr. Leveret, the pursuivant at arms,' who received 40*l.* for the model. It was executed by one Edward Tingham, a stone-cutter at Chapelizod, near Dublin, at a cost of 400*l.* *Lismore Papers*, First Series, iii. 31, 171. A yet more elaborate monument in the same style was raised by Lord Cork in St. Mary's Church, Youghal, where it may still be seen.

[1] St. Werburgh's was used as a kind of chapel royal for the Viceroys, being regarded as the parish church of Dublin Castle. See Hughes's *Church of St. Werburgh*, Dublin, 1889.

[2] Nathaniel Hoyle, D.D., born at Sowerby, Yorkshire, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, removed to Dublin, became fellow of Trinity College, and ultimately Vice-Provost and Professor of Divinity. Having been driven from Ireland by the rebellion he was appointed Master of University College, Oxford, in the chapel of which college he was buried, 1654. He was abused by Walker, praised by Wood, and respected by Ussher.—E. H.

[3] St. Audoen's.

[4] Rev. Stephen Jerome. See Carroll's *Succession of the Clergy in St. Bride's, Dublin.* St. Bride's disappeared from the roll of Dublin churches late in the nineteenth century.

good and plentiful, but nothing curious nor excessive. He is a most holy, well-affected bishop, a good companion, a man of good discourse. Having some conference with him about the reading of the book which gives liberty for recreation upon the Lord's day,[1] he used this expression: that there was no clause therein commanding the ministers to read the book, but if it were published in the church by the clerk or churchwardens, the King's command is performed; this was his sense and opinion.

Here was this day at dinner Doctor Richardson,[2] bishop of (Ardagh), a Cheshire man born, an able man, and good scholar; he was born near Chester, and married Sir Henry Bunbury's daughter, whom I went to visit after dinner; a tall, handsome, fat woman. This bishop is an intelligent man, and gave me good resolution and satisfaction in many things.

Hence I went to the Castle, wherein my Lord Deputy resides, within which are both the Houses of Parliament, whereof I took a view: much less and meaner than ours. The Lords' house is now furnished with about sixty or seventy armours for horse, which are my Lord Deputy's: this a room of no great state nor receipt. Herein there sat the first session about eighty lords; not so many the latter.

The Commons House is but a mean and ordinary place; a plain, and no very convenient seat for the Speaker, nor officers.[3] The Parliament men that sat in this house were about 248. There are about 30 or 32 shires, which send 60 or 64 knights for the shire, the rest are burgesses.

Here in this Castle we saw the council chamber, wherein stands a very long table, furnished with stools at both sides and ends. Here sometimes sit in council about 60 or 64 privy councillors. Here we saw the hall, a very plain room and the dining-room, wherein is placed the cloth of estate over my Lord Deputy's head, when he is at meat.[1] Beyond this is the chamber of presence, a room indeed of state; and next unto this is there a withdrawing chamber, and beyond that a pretty, neat, short gallery, which leads to the council chamber; this was lately built by my Lord Falkland, whilst he was here Deputy; the lower part of it is built archwise and very gracefully, so as it is a great ornament to the Castle, about which there are very high walls and of great strength, and a drawbridge which is pulled up every night.

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[1] The Book of Sports, first published under King James in 1618, subsequently under King Charles, October 18, 1633.

[2] He was a grave man and good divine. Educated in the University of Dublin; born 1584, died 1658, aged 74. He was the author of *Choice Observations and Explanations upon the Old Testament*, fol. 1655; a work which earned him the praise of 'being extraordinary Textuary.' Richardson, who was consecrated Bishop of Ardagh in 1633, left Ireland at the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641, and never returned to his see. *Vide* Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*, iii. p. 184.

[3] See Part I. p. 28 *supra*.

The command which this Castle hath over this city is from some of the leads and towers above on the top of the Castle, whereupon there is ordnance planted; and one fair brass piece of ordnance is placed in the court before the gate. Parker[2] committed a forfeiture here in taking out the stopple, for which he was seized upon, and I paid 6*d*. to redeem him. Here my Lord Deputy hath lately erected a gallant, stately stable, as any I have seen in the King's dominions; it is a double stable, there being a strong wall in the middle, to either side whereof stand the horses' heads. Thirty horses may stand at ease on either side, the stalls being very large; these are exceeding high, at least five or six yards, and very near the same breadth; no planks made use of, but Holland bricks placed upon the edges, whereon the horses lie and you walk; these as easy to walk upon as to lie upon, and these are made of Holland earth, which is harder and more durable much than our clay; with these the streets are paved in Holland.[3]

July 11.—We went to Sir Thomas Rotheram[4] (who is a privy councillor), who used us respectively, and accompanied me to the Castle, and showed me the courts of justice, which are conveniently framed and contrived, and these very capacious; the Star-Chamber,[1] the Chancery, the King's Bench and Common Pleas—these rooms as useful as ours in England, but here is not such a stately structure or hall to walk in as Westminster Hall. I saw also the church, which was erected by the Jesuits, and made use by them two years. There was a college also belonging unto them, both these erected in the Back Lane. The pulpit in this church was richly adorned with pictures, and so was the high altar, which was advanced with steps, and railed out like cathedrals; upon either side thereof was there erected places for confession; no fastened seats were in the middle or body hereof, nor was there any chancel; but that it might be more capacious, there was a gallery erected on both sides, and at the lower end of this church, which was built in my Lord Falkland's time, and whereof they were disinvested when my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Cork executed by commission the Deputy's place. This college is now joined and annexed to the College of Dublin, called [Trinity], and in this church there is a lecture every Tuesday.[2]

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[1] See Part I. p. 22 *supra*.

[2] Perhaps Brereton's servant.

[3] See Part I. p. 23 *supra*.

[4] Sir Thomas Rotheram held the office of Overseer of Fortifications in conjunction with Nicholas Pynnar in succession to Sir Josias Bodley. He was member for Tuam in Strafford's Parliament of 1634, and became a member of the Irish Privy Council.

We saw also St. Stephen's Hall, wherein are disposed about eighteen scholars, who are also members of the college whereunto this hall is annexed. This sometimes was a cloister for the Capuchins, who said mass, and preached in a pretty little chapel or chamber; this was likewise taken from them about that time, and now there is prayers in it twice a day. My Lord of Cork allowed 40*l.* per annum to maintain this lecture in the Jesuit's church, but now hath withdrawn this exhibition.[3] In this street which is called the Bridge Street, almost opposite to this hall, there died this day an Irish merchant, and as we passed by we heard either his wife or sister roaring out as though she were violently distracted; this they say is very ordinary with the Irish, and is their custom.

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[1] The Irish Star-Chamber was more usually called the Court of Castle-Chamber. It is so described in successive patents; but its functions and jurisdiction were in all respects similar to those of the English Star-Chamber. The Court of Castle-Chamber survived the Restoration; at least appointments to offices connected with it were made as late as 1661.—*Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, vol. i. part ii. p. 180.

[2] The great Earl of Cork has left a description of this building, afterwards known as Kildare Hall, which accords in its details with Brereton's account. *Vide* Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*, pp. 21, 45, 218.

[3] According to Lord Cork's diary the endowment was 30*l.* a year, of which

I went this day to view the college, which is called Trinity College, and was erected by Queen Elizabeth, and endowed with about 1,400*l.* per annum. There is a provost hereof, Dr. Chappell,[1] a vice-provost, and six senior fellows, whose fellowships are worth 9*l.* per annum, besides their diet; there are eight junior fellows, whose fellowships are worth, besides their diet, 3*l.* per annum; poor scholars about sixty, whose scholarships are only worth their diets. There are about sixty poor scholars, and about fifteen fellow commoners. In the chapel is a monument for Dr. Challoner,[2] sometimes provost of this college, and father to my Lord Primate's wife. Hereunto belongs a pretty little convenient garden. This house is seated in a good air, out of the city, and near the sea. They glory much in their library, whereof I took a full view, and there were showed unto me many manuscripts: one they highly esteem, which they call Friar Bacon's work, and say the same is not anywhere extant save with them; but he must have a stronger faith to believe it than mine, for it is new bound, a very fair manuscript without any blot or blemish; it treats of all manner of learnings; but that it is Friar Bacon's work doth not appear either in the frontispiece, title, or any part of the book, as also the subject seems unto me, and the style not to be Friar Bacon's work; but here it is so received and reported.[3]

20*l.* was provided by the Earl of Kildare, and 10*l.* by Lord Cork.—*Lismore Papers*, 1st Ser. iii. p. 82.

[1] William Chappell, Dean of Cashel, was appointed provost in 1634, consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross 1638. He retained the provostship until 1640.

[2] Dr. Luke Chaloner was one of four original fellows of this institution, and treasurer of the fund for building it, but never provost. On his deathbed he recommended his only daughter, Phœbe, to Ussher for a wife. He died 1612. E. H.—Chaloner has been called the real founder of Trinity College. See Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*.

[3] 'We have a fine copy of the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon, of the still

This library is not large, well contrived, nor well furnished with books. They say it is to be disposed of to some other uses, and a new library and schools to be erected.

July 12.—I heard my Lord Primate at eight hour at St. Owen's Church, which is his parish, wherein he was born, where he preacheth every Sabbath whilst he is in Dublin. I never heard a more powerful and convincing sermon, and indeed he is a most holy and heavenly man, and as pregnant witted as any I have heard. He doth most industriously apply his study, which he hath placed at a good distance from his house to prevent distraction and diversion by the access of any company to visit him, who are not admitted to disturb his studies. This his course and order is so public as that few come to him at any time of the day, save at the hours of relaxation, which is from eleven to one, and also about supper time; the rest of the day, from five in the morning until six in the evening, is spent ordinarily in his study.

July 13.—I dined with him also, and then he was much more free and familiar with me. I had much private conference with him, and after dinner he took me into his closet, where although there be not very many books, yet those that are, much used and employed. Herein he shewed me the whole books of the Waldenses, which are very rare; they cost him 22*l*. sterling; they are in octavo, about ten or twelve vol. The language wherein they are printed is a miscellaneous language, 'twixt French and Spanish; these were sent him from a counsellor in France, as also a copy of the plots and designs and proceedings of the inquisitors in France. He shewed me his Articles of Religion, printed 1563; but I left mine with him, which was more ancient and orthodox than his. He did enforce me to take away and read a packet of news (which came unto him there) before himself had cast an eye upon it.[1]

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unprinted portion of which I gave, many years ago (in *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii.), a detailed account.'—J. K. Ingram's *Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, p. 12.

[1] Primate Ussher's library, as is well known, ultimately found its way to the library of Trinity College. 'The fate of the *History of the Waldenses* has been thus described by Ussher's chaplain, Dr. Nicholas Bernard. While

At ten hour this Lord's day I heard Dr. Hoile preach at St. Warburrs, and at three in afternoon in the same church. He is a most holy man, full of zeal and grace, a general scholar, but not sufficiently furnished with words to express that fulness of matter which aboundeth in him; who is a mere cynic to the world, but doubtless a gracious man in the sight of God. You may with much ease and conveniency hear four sermons every Lord's day, and, as I was informed, six sermons may be heard on one day. This city of Dublin is extending his bounds and limits very far; much additions of building lately, and some of those very fair, stately and complete buildings; every commodity is grown very dear. You must pay also for an horse hire 1*s.* 6*d.* a day; here I met with an excellent, judicious, and painful smith. Here are divers commodities cried in Dublin as in London, which it doth more resemble than any town I have seen in the King of England's dominions.

July 14.—Upon Tuesday, July 14, I left Dublin and came to Hacquetts Town, about eleven hour at night. It is accounted twenty-seven miles, but it is as long as thirty-seven. After you pass four miles from Dublin, you travel through the mountains, which are dry land, and some of them good pasture for cattle that are young, and sheep, but these are not sufficiently stocked. Towards evening we passed through troublesome and dangerous ways and woods, and had wandered all night had we not hired an Irish guide, by whose direction we arrived at eleven hour at Hacquetts Town, where we lodged in a little low, poor thatched castle. Here Mr. Watson, a Lancashire man, hath a plantation. As we passed this way I observed the head of the river Liffie, which comes under the bridge at Dublin, whence it is made navigable by the flood, which goeth a mile above the bridge, and little further; I passed also, about

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travelling in Wales two of his trunks full of books were broken open by some soldiers, "amongst which he lost two manuscripts of the *History of the Waldenses*, which he never got again; most of the other books were returned by the preachers exhorting of all sorts in their sermons to that end; but those two manuscripts, though the most meanly clad, he could never hear of." '—Ingram's *Library of Trinity College*, p. 7.

eighteen miles from Dublin, by the head of the Slane,[1] which runs to Waxford,[2] and is there navigable, and twenty miles above Waxford.

This town, called in Irish Haggers town, is built upon my Lord of Ormond's land, which he holds by lease for about fifty years; this is in the province of Leinster, and in the county of Catherloe.[3] It is lately made a market town (a poor one);[4] it is most inconveniently seated amongst the mountains, a barren dry soil, and not easily improved and made rich. A branch of the river of the Slane runs below this town, wherein are but a few straggling houses. Some land is here set by Mr. Watson at 2*s.* and some at 3*s.* 4*d.* an acre, as to John Torkinton, and for thirty years. Here is good butter made as in England, and they say good cheese, but I tasted none. This is in the diocese of Loghlein,[5] and so is Sir Morgan Kavanagh[6] his estate; the bishop hereof was lately Dean of Limbreck, Dr. [Andrews].[7] Here Mr. Watson hath erected a dainty new church, and maintains a good minister, Mr. Roote's wife's brother. He allows him 40*l.* pension per annum and his house, and a competent provision of ground. He paid for the purchase of this lease above 500*l.* fine, and he pays also an 100*l.* rent. He hath already improved it unto more worth than 400*l.* per annum, and hath much prejudiced his plantation by insisting upon overhard conditions and demands. Here we were very courteously and kindly entertained all night by Mr. Needham, and [ ] who married Mr. Watson's sister.

July 15.—We went hence through Mr. Watson's woods, wherein is very little good timber, the most small, old, and decayed, and those trees which seem best are shaken and unsound at heart. When we went out of his grounds we entered upon Mr. Chambers' land, and saw abundance of woods, more than many thousand acres; and some of those parts through which we travelled the ground was so thronged and pestered with wood which was fallen and lay upon the ground, as the ground was thereby made of no use. Out of this part of the wood the best hath been made use of for pipe-staves, which were sold for 6*l.* a 1,000: upon every 1,000 of these there is now a custom imposed of 3*l.*, which doth so much deduct as there is no valuable advantage, the charge of hewing being 1*l.* 10*s.*, besides conveying them down by water to Ennerscoff,[1] which is twelve miles, at which time there is required the aid and endeavour of a hundred men to conduct and guide them in this narrow, shallow, and crooked river, which runs through this wood.

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[1] Slaney.

[2] Wexford.

[3] Carlow.

[4] A patent for a market for Hacketstown was granted to the Earl of Ormond in the year of Brereton's visit.

[5] Leighlin.

[6] Morgan Kavanagh, of Borris and Poulmonty, died 1636, a direct ancestor of the Kavanaghs of Borris, co. Carlow.

[7] See Part I. p. 182 *supra.*

Before we passed this wood and river, we passed by Minmoare, a little Irish town, where a brother of Chambers dwelleth. Two miles hence is Carnue,[2] the town wherein Mr. Chambers his castle is erected, and which is a neat, rough-cast, and well-contrived, convenient house. Here calling to drink a cup of beer (the weather being extreme hot), Mr. Chambers overruled us to stay all night, where we had very free and courteous entertainment. Two of his daughters, now married, are with my Lord Brabseon's [Brabazon's] lady, and Mr. Sandeford's wife.[3] Here is now Mr. Odell, who doth commend and magnify beyond all measure the park belonging to this house, which is about seven miles in compass, and wherein are both fallow and red deer good store. Here is good butter and cheese made, and they say fair English cattle are here bred, though the ground seems but barren and poor, and moorish hereabouts; but here hath a brave large scope of ground, and it is of the best sort that this county of Wickley yields. Nor far hence, about a quarter of a mile, he hath erected an iron-work, which is called a

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[1] Enniscorthy.

[2] Carnew, co. Wicklow.

[3] Calcot Chambre, of Denbigh in Wales, and of Carnew in the county of Wicklow. He left a son and two daughters: Elizabeth, married to Francis Sandford; and Mary, married in 1632 to Edward, Lord Brabazon, afterwards the second Earl of Meath, who was drowned, 1675, between Holyhead and Beaumaris. Upon this lady and her heirs the Wicklow estates were settled.—E. H.

[ ]. Herein the sows[1] of iron which are brought from Bristow are melted into iron bars. They stand in 5*l*. a ton, being laid down at the door, and are worth in bars xxlb. a ton.

July 16.—We left Carnue about seven hour, and went thence into the county of Wexford to Claghaman,[2] by Lord of Baltamoare's[3] town, where he hath a brave house, but of no great strength, nor built castle-wise. Here I saw lime burnt, wherewith they use to enrich their ground. This town is seated upon the bank of river Slane, which doth hence carry down to Ennerscoffe, and so to Wexford, all pipe-staves, boards and other timber which grows in the woods near adjoining. We passed through Sir Morgan Kavanagh's woods, wherein (we were informed in the morning at Carnew) there were lurking about sixteen stout rebels, well appointed, every of them with his pistols, skene, and darts; they have also four long pieces, but we saw none, only we had one lusty fellow in jealousy[4] in the wood. Herein there hath been good store of good timber, though now there remains little timber useful, save to burn, and such as cumbreth the ground, but they say he hath better timber in his more remote woods from the river. This is a commodity which will be much wanting in this kingdom, and is now very dear at Dublin. In this wood there runs a little river which divides the counties of Wexford and Catherloe, over which when we had passed we went to Clenmoullen,[5] the castle and seat of Sir Morgan Kavanagh, who seems to be a very honest, fair-dealing man, and his lady[6] a good woman, but both recusants. Here we were entertained with good beer, sack and claret, whereof he was no niggard. He demands a 1,000*l.* per annum, and a 1,000*l.* rent for twenty town lands, and, as he saith, it is about 12,000 or 13,000 acres, but I cannot conceive it less than 20,000 acres; much hereof mountain wood, and the rest but poor land, all overgrown with fern and bracken, and not to be improved but with great charge and trouble.

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[1] We know not whether 'sow' is a term now used amongst iron manufacturers, or whether the modern word 'pig' is used as more delicate, or expressive of a different form or weight of rough metal.—E. H.

[2] Clohamon.

[3] Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to whom Charles I. granted the province of Maryland, with very extensive powers, in 1632.—E. H.

[4] Jealousie, *i.e.* lattice or grate, from behind which anyone may unperceived watch another.—E. H. But the expression may here mean suspicion.—C. L. F.

[5] Clonmullen Castle appears by the Ordnance survey of Ireland to be situated in the parish of Banagh, co. Carlow, on the borders of Wexford.—E. H.

[6] This lady was Eleanor, third daughter of Edmund, second Lord Mountgarret.—E. H.

Here he showed me a convenient seat for an iron-work, which may be supplied with sufficient water and charcoal; for this respect I do believe he doth set a far higher valuation and price upon his lands, which he doth much overvalue and esteem. In this wood I observed and tasted of the dew which fell upon the oak leaves, which glistened and shined and tasted like honey; doubtless this kingdom is a most fruitful place for bees. This castle and seat of Sir Morgan Kavanagh is an old, high, narrow, and inconvenient building; the stairs leading up into the dining-room and chambers being narrow and steep, like a steeple stair; this also seated in a most solitary, melancholy place, woods on two sides and plains on the other; these are moors and mountains, whereon they say there are wolves. This also is in the Dufferie,[1] which hath always been reputed a thievish place, but Sir Morgan being demanded, said that the sixteen rebels before-named were most conversant about Ross and in the county of Kilkennie.

In the way to Ennescorffie,[2] about two miles thence on the other side the Slane, I went to survey (over the river) the manor of the Ollort,[3] in the county of Wexford, in the parish and diocese of Fernes and Loghlein, which is to be sold with these parcels following: Taebcurrye, Taenknock, Rahennemonye, Bollincahine, and Sherewelch. Hereunto belongs a court-leet, a court-barron, and one fair. It is mortgaged by one Mr. Darbie Cavenah, in Irish called Dormaunt MacDoullin. This land is now in mortgage to one

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[1] See Part I. p. 158 *supra*. The name is preserved in Duffry Hall, a seat of the Colcloughs, in the parish of Templeshanbo, co. Wexford.

[2] Enniscorthy.

[3] Oulart. Oulart Hill was the scene of one of the insurgents' successes in the rising of 1798.

Turner, an apothecary in Dublin, for 800*l.*, and may be redeemed whensoever the money is paid. This land adjoins to Sir James Caroll's[1] new and stately house, which hath almost sunk him by the charge of building the same. It is called Ballyeskerne. This land lies upon the bank of the Slane, which is plentifully furnished with salmon and trouts; down this river abundance of timber is conveyed down to Waxford, so to be transported by sea. Upon this river bank many pleasant convenient seats for houses or towns may be found out. Here are coneys belonging hereunto. It will keep cattle, and good sheep and horses; these I saw, though by reason of the most extreme, violent drought both that land and all this country is burnt up and no grass, so as you cannot look upon this land but with much disadvantage; yet it seems to be a good-natured earth, but it hath been overtilled, and much wronged by the Irish husbandry. It is given in for 1,000 acres, but it is by those who know not how to guess at 1,000 acres: for doubtless there is no less than 1,000 acres of arable and pasture land, which may be made rich land by lime, which may be conveniently provided very cheap for 2*d.* a barrel, and may be conveyed by water at a small charge. Our host, Mr. Plummer (who lives in Ennerscoffie, and is a Scotchman; his wife an Englishwoman), affirmed that the third part of the corn (for so the Irish tenants sow their landlords' grounds, and allow them the third sheaf, and take two sheaves for their pains) which grew last year upon that ground was sold for 120*l.* There is meadow land and bog, which being guttered, ditched, and drained (which may be done with 20*l.* or 30*l.* charge) will be good and rich meadow; this is no less than 500 acres. Of commoning also, which yields fern and gorse, and would be made good land with a small charge, there is about 800 acres. Here is woodland belonging hereunto, but how much I am uncertain. Little good timber I saw; some part of the wood may easily be cleared of the oullers[2] and underwood, and made good meadowing. Here is as handsome an Irish hall upon this ground as ever I saw in this kingdom, and if Sir James Carroll will part with his house, it stands most conveniently to be occupied herewith; and it is generally believed that both house and lands may be purchased upon easy terms. This were a brave seat for a younger brother, but this will not be sold, for Mr. Darbye Cavenah himself came to me at Washford, and would have made a lease for twenty-one years for 200 years, paying in the interim ten shillings an acre, which was a most senseless demand, and as much as the lands can be improved unto at the end of the 200 years; hereupon we brake off.

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[1] Sir James Carroll, four times Lord Mayor of Dublin in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

[2] Alder trees.

This kingdom is now divided into four provinces: 1. Linster; 2. Munster; 3. Ulster; 4. Connaught. Linster containeth these counties: 1. Eastmeath; 2. Westmeath; 3. Dublin; 4. Kildare; 5. Louth—these five called within the English Pale; 6. Longford; 7. King's County; 8. Queene; 9. Kilkennie, one of the finest counties in Ireland; 10. Carloe; 11. Wexford; 12. Wickley. Munster divides itself into these shires and counties: 1. Waterford; 2. Tiperarie and Cross Tiperarie; 3. Corke, greatest in Ireland; 4. Kerrie, furthest point of Ireland, south-west; 5. Limbreck, the richest land; 6. Toemond.[1] Ulster: 1. Donegall, furthest north-west county; 2. Enneschelyn, or Fermanough; 3. Cavan; 4. Monohain; 5. Tyrone; 6. Londonderie; 7. Armath; 8. Downe-Patrick; 9. Antrim, wherein stands Carick-Fergus. Connaught: 1. Gallaway; 2. Mayeo; 3. Rosscommon; 4. Letrim; 5. Sligoe.[2]

We lodged on Thursday, July 16, at Ennerscorffie,[3] at one Andrew Plummer, a Scotchman, his wife an Englishwoman, where we paid 1*s.* ordinary for ourselves and 6*d.* for our servants. Here is a neat little castle in good repair. This and the town and the lands hereabout belong unto Sir Henry Wallope,[4] who hath a very brave command and royalty and revenue hereabout. This town is seated upon the fair river Slane, which ebbs and flows even to this town, the greatest part of all the wealthy inhabitants whereof (there cannot be many) are wood merchants. Here our host informed us that Mr. Chambers had now at least, there landed and coming down the water, an hundred thousand pipe-staves, &c., which were worth at Wexford ten (shillings) an hundred: there his money to be received, out of which he cannot gain less than half in half.

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[1] Clare. [2] See Part I. p. 103 *et seq. supra.* [3] Enniscorthy.

[4] Sir Henry Wallop, ancestor of the Earls of Portsmouth. His father, who had been Lord Justice of Ireland in 1582, and Lord Treasurer 1579–99, received large grants of land in Wexford.

July 17.—Here I bought of John Torkinton a little white mare; the price was 2*l*. 4*s*. He said if I returned her to Hacquetts Town when I had finished my journey, I should not abate above 3*d*. a day. I tried also a grissell gelding, for which I deposited 4*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. and covenanted in this manner: that if I returned the horse within thirty days I was to receive my money back again, allowing an abatement of 1*s*. a day for so many days as I had the horse; only by this agreement I was to keep the horse ten days at least, so as if I returned him next day, I must abate 10*s*. of the 4*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*. This horse was one Mainwareing's,[1] steward to Sir Henry Wallope: he descended out of Caringham house, and is uncle to Mr. Mainwareing that now is.[2] This money was left with Mr. Andrew Plummer, who undertook the performance of conditions.

Here we parted with Mr. Needham, who appointed with me to meet me on Tuesday morning next at Carick,[3] where my Lord of Ormond lives. Hence I sent to Dublin by John Torkinton the two horses there hired, which were promised to be delivered there the day following, which I made use of, and was to pay for five days, for which I paid in Dublin 12*s*. beforehand.

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[1] Roger Mainwaring, fourth son of Henry Mainwaring, of Kermincham or Carincham, sheriff of Cheshire, 1575, was appointed in 1612 by Sir Henry Wallop, constable, governor and keeper of Enniscorthy Castle, with all jurisdictions and privileges, and general receiver of all his rents, &c., with the yearly fee of 20*l*. English money. He died without issue. Carincham is now held by Mr. Uniacke, descended from an heiress of the Mainwarings; but the name of Mainwaring was assumed, in 1809, by sign manual, by another descendant, in the female line, of the same heiress. Sir W. Brereton afterwards calls him cousin, but the pedigrees do not show this exact alliance. There were at an early period intermarriages which might have occasioned the use of a word which is sometimes applied in a very general way.—E. H.

[2] Possibly Mathew Mainwaring, who was constable of Dublin Castle in 1635, was one of the same family.

[3] Carrick-on-Suir.

We went hence towards Wexford, which is accounted eight mile, but they are very long miles. We crossed the water at Ennerscoffie on horseback, and at the Carick, a mile from Wexford, we passed over a narrow ferry ; all the grass in the country is burnt up, and here they complain of drought, and affirm they never felt such extreme scorching hot weather in Ireland. Here are divers of the Roches, which have much land about Wexford, and who would willingly set or sell ; their land lieth very convenient for a Cheshire man.

About a mile hence lies a farm called the Park, which is now leased unto one Mr. Hardye, an Englishman, who lives upon it, and hath an estate in it about thirteen years. The landlord is one Mr. William Synode [? Synnot], of the Lough, a man that needs money. This land is almost 16*l*. per annum. He saith it contains about three hundred acres, others say two hundred acres, and that it will keep twenty or thirty milch kine, yield sufficient corn for a small family, affords abundance of rabbits, whereof here there are too many, so as they pester the ground, and here may be more fish and fowl provided than to keep a good family, for on three sides it is compassed with great loughs a mile or two broad, so as the flood being in it flows to the very bank sides ; when the flood is out, the shore being mud is bare and dry ; when the tide is out, the depth of the mud is half a yard or a yard ; but I could not find the mud bare, and this was the reason given by Mr. Hardye, that so long as the wind blows west, it clears it of water, but now the wind being at east keeps the tide in ; when the flood is in, it is said to be not above one yard deep of water (except at some extraordinary spring tides). I cannot believe but that this mud will much fertilise and enrich the ground. This I do believe is a place of much security to such cattle or goods as are therein kept, and they affirm that they have not lost any since they came thither, which is about eight years.

Here is the best feeding for fowl that I ever saw. This grass which comes from the mud is good food for them, and there is a good store of it; and here is a little grove of oaks, wherein is no good timber, but it so stands as it is most strong shelter to the fowl that feed or frequent under it.

Here is the most commodious and convenient seat for a c(oy)[1] that ever I saw, but there is no more room whereupon to erect a c(oy) betwixt the water and an high bank of the wood than four or five rood in breadth, but sufficient in length so as you must either make so much of the mud firm land, whereupon to build your c(oy), or else you must only make good one side with two pipes, or you must erect your work upon a point of land which lieth much eastward, and is in view of the town, and much more inconvenient, or you must carry away abundance of earth to make a pond, and pipes in some ground, as yet much too high at the north-west end of the wood. Here grew ollers[1] sufficient to plant a coy, and here is sufficient wood to cleave into stakes for all uses; and as I am informed, reed may be provided out of Sir Thomas Esmond's lands which is on the other side the water, and all necessaries may be supplied by water from the Slane. Mr. Hardye demands for his interest, which is for thirteen years, 55*l*., and will abate nothing.

And herein grow good cherries, and all wood here planted flourisheth well. Mr. Turner, father-in-law to Mr. William Synode, demanded an 100*l*. fine for a lease of eighty years in reversion after the determination of the thirteen years now in being; of the unreasonableness of which demand being convinced, he sent next day a messenger and letter to his son-in-law, Mr. Synode, who desired to know what I would give. I would offer nothing, but Mr. Mainwaring offered 20*l*. per lease for eighty (years). Mr. Turner replied that 40*l*. would not be accepted, and an augmentation of the rent 4*l*. per annum from 16*l*. to 20*l*. Upon this we broke off.

We lodged at Wexford at the sign of the Windmill at the house of Paul Bennett. This town is seated upon a brave spacious harbour, capacious of many thousand sail, but it is much prejudiced and damnified by a most vile barred haven, which, notwithstanding, is far better than formerly. Two narrow bands of sand run along on both sides the channel into the sea, betwixt the points whereof is the channel or passage. Trade much decayeth in this town, and it is very poor by reason of herring fishing here failing. They report here of an incredible multitude of herrings ordinarily taken in one night, in this large and vast harbour, by five or six men in one boat of ten ton burthen, sometimes to the value of 20*l.*, sometimes 40*l.*, sometimes more. This was informed me and affirmed by one that ordinarily fished here and took this proportion. Now of latter times, the herrings have forsaken this coast, this town is much impoverished and decayed. Their quays go to ruin, and are in no good repair ; there belonged sometimes unto every great merchant's house seated on the shore either a quay, or a part interest in a quay, or a private way to the quay. Their haven was then furnished with five thousand sail of ships and small vessels for fishing, and is now naked.

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[1] Coy, an artificial snare or decoy for catching wild fowl. These coys were fashionable at this period, and Brereton describes more than one such in his *Travels*.

[2] Alder trees.

July 18.—This day I went to the court (the assizes being now here held for this county of Washford, which began on Wednesday last, and ended this day), where is their shire hall. The judges that ride this circuit are Sir George Sherley,[1] Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and Sir John Fillpott,[2] one of the judges in the Common Pleas, a little, black, temperate man. The one—viz., my Lord Chief Justice—sits upon Isie-prices,[3] the other upon matters of misdemeanours and trials for life and death. Here I saw four justices of peace sit upon the bench with Sir John Philpott, amongst which was one Devereux and my cousin Mainwareing, uncle to Mr. Mainwareing of Caringham that now is, a courteous, grave, civil gentleman, who came from the bench and saluted me in the hall, and accompanied me to the tavern, and bestowed wine upon me. He is agent unto Sir Henry Wallopp, and is a justice of peace of this county, and was a burgess for the Parliament.[1] He told me there were three rebels condemned, as also he advised me rather to go by Balliehack and by the way of the Passage than by Ross, because of the rebels which frequent thereabouts; hereof he said there were about six or eight, and these furnished with some pieces, pistols, darts and skenes, and some of them most desperate spirits, and so cruel, that the inhabitants of the country dare scarce travel that way; these are proclaimed rebels, and such as are to be hanged, drawn and quartered so soon as they are apprehended. So also are those to be dealt withal who are not to be executed. One of them I saw in the streets returning towards the castle, and the women and some other following making lamentation, sometimes so violent as though they were distracted, sometimes as it were in a kind of tune singing; one of these ('twas said) was his wife. This is the Irish garb.[2] This town is governed by a mayor, and two bayliffs or sheriffs, and ten or twelve aldermen.

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[1] Sir George Shurley was L.C.J. of Ireland 1625–39.

[2] Sir John Phillpott, third Justice of the Common Pleas, 1621–37.

[3] Nisi prius.

Beyond the bar also it hath a very safe harbour, and shelter for ships to ride at anchor in, who want tide to bring them into the haven. Sir Adam Cotcliffe[3] told me that he had dined at Milford in Wales, and supped in this town, which is about twenty-four hours' sail from Bristoll, and as much to Dublin.[4] By reason of the assizes here, the inhabitants of the country resorted hither in greater numbers and better habits (Irish garments I mean) than I have yet seen. Some gentlewomen of good quality here I observed clothed in good handsome gowns, petticoats and hats, who wore Irish rugs which have handsome, comely large fringes, which go about their necks, and serve instead of bands. This ruggy fringe is joined to a garment which comes round about them, and reacheth to the very ground, and this is an handsome, comely vestment, much more comely as they are used than the rug short cloaks used by the women upon festival days in Abbeville, Bullein, and the nearer parts of Picardie in Fraunce. The most of the women are bare-necked and clean skinned, and wear a crucifix tied in a black necklace, hanging betwixt their breasts. It seems they are not ashamed of their religion, nor desire to conceal themselves; and indeed in this town are many papists.

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[1] Roger Mainwaring was member for Carysfort in the Parliament of 1634.

[2] Habit.

[3] Sir Adam Colclough, of Tintern Abbey, in the county of Wexford, was the son of Sir Thomas Colclough of Tintern and Martha, daughter of Archbishop Adam Loftus. He was created a baronet in 1628.

[4] Though always recognised as one of the shortest passages between England and Ireland it is only in the twentieth century that the advantages of the route have been fully appreciated. It is about to become the medium of a rapid service.

July 19.—The present mayor, Mr. Mark Cheveu, attended the judges to the church door, and so did the sheriff of the shire, both which left them there, and went to mass, which is here tolerated, and publicly resorted unto in two or three houses in this town, wherein are very few Protestants, as appeared by that slender congregation at church where the judges were. This morning I went unto and visited both the judges, and was respectively used by them; the mayor, a well-bred gentleman, an inns-of-court man, who is a counsellor, a gentleman that hath an estate in the country, and was knight of this shire for last Parliament, invited me to dinner as also to supper with the judges.[1] He is an Irishman, and his wife Irish, in a strange habit, a threadbare short coat with sleeves, made like my green coat of stuff, reaching to her middle; she knew not how to carve, look, entertain, or demean herself. Here was a kind of beer (which I durst not taste) called charter beer, mighty thick, muddy stuff; the meat nothing well cooked or ordered. Much discourse here, complaint and information given against the rebels, the captain whereof is called Simon Prendergrasse, whose brother also will be brought in trouble for relieving, &c. Three carriers were robbed betwixt Ross and this town on Friday last, and two other travellers, and one in his lodging, by three of these rebels well appointed, who said if they could have taken my Lord of Kildare,[2] who passed through them nakedly attended, he should have procured their pardon. There was a letter sent and read this night at supper, advertising a gentleman in town that last night they came to his house with a purpose to take away his life, because he prosecuted against them, and informed that they had taken from him the value of 200*l*. The judge here said, if all the justices of peace did not wait upon them to Ross, to guard them from these rebels, he would fine them deeply. The junior judge told me of a very wise demeanour of the now mayor of Ross, who being informed that three of these rebels lay asleep near the town, and being required to send out some ten or twelve with him to apprehend them, he answered that he would provide for the safety of his town, commanded the gates to be shut, the drum to be beat, and pieces, warning-pieces, to be discharged, whereby they awaked, and took notice thereof and escaped.

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[1] Richard Cheevers was member for Wexford in 1634. He appears to have died shortly after Brereton's visit in February 1635–6.

[2] George, sixteenth Earl of Kildare.

July 20.—We left Washford, and the Lord provided a good guide for us, and directed us to a better course than we intended, for instead of going over the passage (which was this day so much troubled and so rough as my Lord of Kildare was in great danger there, and himself and servants constrained to cut the sail ropes and tacklings) we took up our lodging at Tinterden,[1] a dissolved abbey, where now Sir Adam Cocliffe lives, and where we were exceedingly kindly and courteously entertained. Now my disease began to increase upon me. This a very fair, large, stately house, and of great receipt. He keeps a good house, and hath a great estate here, and his lady is a dainty, complete, well-bred woman. She is Sir Rob. Rich his daughter. The land on this side Washford about four or five miles, and so to Ballihack, is much better land than that which I saw in any other part of this county. This day we had more rain than upon any day since we came from home. Here they say no rain fallen this two months, all extreme dry, but nothing so much burnt up as in the other side of this county.

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[1] Tintern, or Kinneagh, an abbey founded by William, Earl of Pembroke, who placed in it Cistercians from Tintern Abbey in Monmouthshire. It has long been in the possession of the family of the Colcloughs.—E. H. See Hore's *History of Wexford*, vol. ii.

July 21.—We went home about eight hour, and came to Ballihack, a poor little village on this side the passage over the river of Waterford, which here is the broadest passage said to be in Ireland, and a most rough, troubled passage when the wind is anything high. Here last day the boat, wherein my Lord of Kildare came over, was in danger to be run under water by carrying too much sail, and running foul upon the passage boat. Down this river come all the shipping for Waterford. Here we saw the 'Ninth Whelp' lying at anchor, to guard the fleet which now is ready to go hence to Bristoll fair. Sir Beverley Newcombe is captain of her, and is now at Waterford.[1] They say there are about fifty sail to go to St. James fair at Bristoll. The Irish here use a very presumptuous proverb and speech touching this passage. They always say they must be at Bristoll fair, they must have a wind to Bristoll fair, and indeed it is observed they never fail of a wind to Bristoll fair; yea, though the fair be begun, and the wind still averse, yet still do they retain their confident presumption of a wind. It is most safe here to hire a boat to pass over in, not with horses, which is rowed over with four oars. I paid for the hire of it 2*s*. This is a full mile over. The passage boat which carries your horses will not carry at one time more than two or three horses. Here is far better coming into the boat and landing than at Port Patricke, but less and worse boats. On Munster side is good lodging and accommodation.

This day we passed over the land of a gentleman whose name is [   ]. He died about seven days ago of a gangrene; his fingers and hands, toes and feet, rotted off, joint by joint. He was but a young man, of above 1,000*l*. per annum, and married an old woman, a crabbed piece of flesh, who cheated him with a 1,000*l*. she brought him, for which he was arrested within three days after his marriage.

We came to Waterford about three hour, and baited at the King's Head, at Mr. Wardes, a good house, and a very complete gentleman-like host. This town is reputed one of the richest towns in Ireland. It stands upon a river (called Watterford River),[1] which maintaineth a sufficiently deep and safe channel even to the very quay, which, indeed, is not only the best and most convenient quay which I found in Ireland, but it is as good a quay as I have known either in England or observed in all my travels. A ship of three hundred may come close to these quays. This quay is made all along the river side without the walls, and divers fair and convenient buttresses made about twenty yards long, which go towards the channel. I saw the river at a spring tide flow even with the top of this quay, and yet near the quay a ship of three hundred ton full loaden may float at a low water. Upon this river stand divers forts and castles which command it. At the mouth of the river is there a fort called Duncannon, wherein lieth my Lord Esmond's company, consisting of fifty good, expert soldiers.[2] Here is also a company of fifty soldiers, which are under the command of Sir George Flowre,[3] an ancient knight. These are disposed of in the fort, which is placed without the gate towards Caricke, a pretty little hold, which stands on high and commands the town. There stands upon this river the Carick twelve mile, hence, and Clonmell about eight mile thence; hither (as I have heard) the river flows. There is, seated upon this river also Golden Bridge, and there is a passage by water from Cullen [?] and Limbrecke. This is no barred, but a most bold haven, in the mouth whereof is placed an eminent tower, a sea mark, to be discerned at a great distance;[1] yet this river runs so crooked as without a W. or N.W. Hence went a great fleet to Bristoll fair, who staid long here waiting for a wind.

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[1] See note at p. 405 *infra*.

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[1] The Suir.

[2] A very full account of Duncannon Fort will be found in Hore's *History of Wexford*, vol. iv.

[3] Sir George Flower was an active officer employed against the rebels in Ireland in 1600, and commanding a body of troops of from 1,200 to 2,000 men. In 1601 he was made sergeant-major of his Majesty's forces, and performed many gallant, daring, and successful achievements, for which he received the honour of knighthood. In 1627 he was appointed governor and constable of the fort then newly erected at Waterford, and appointed one of the commissioners to execute martial law within the province of Munster. Soon after this he died. He appears, however, to have been alive, though 'an ancient knight,' in 1636.—E. H. See Archdall's *Lodge's Peerage*, v. 282, *sub tit.* Ashbrook.

This city is governed by a mayor, bailiffs, and twelve aldermen. Herein are seven churches; there have been many more. One of these, Christ Church, a cathedral; St. Patrick's, Holy Ghost, St. Stephen's, St. John—but none of these are in good repair, not the cathedral, nor indeed are there any churches almost to be found in good repair. Most of the inhabitants Irish, not above forty English, and not one of these Irish goes to church. This town trades much with England, France, and Spain, and that which gives much encouragement hereunto is the goodness of the haven.

This town double-walled, and the walls maintained in good repair. Here we saw women in a most impudent manner treading clothes with their feet; these were naked to the middle almost, for so high were their clothes tucked up about them. Here the women of better rank and quality wear long, high laced caps, turned up round about; these are mighty high; of this sort I gave William Dale money to buy me one. Here is a good, handsome market-place, and a most convenient prison that I ever saw for the women apart, and this is a great distance from the men's prison. Herein dwells a judicious apothecary, who hath been bred at Antwerpe, and is a traveller; his name is (as I take it) Mr. Jarvis Billiard, by whose directions and good advice I found much good, and through God's mercy recovered from my sickness. After I had dined here, I went about four or five hour towards Caricke, where I stayed at a ferry about a mile from Waterford a whole hour for the boat, wherein we and our six horses were carried over together.

Hence to Caricke is accounted nine miles, good large ones, but very fair way, and very ready to find. We came to Caricke about nine hour. We lodged at the sign of the Three Cuts at Mr. Croummer's, where is a good neat woman. Here my disease increasing, I wanted good accommodation.

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[1] Hook Tower.

Here is my Lord of Ormond's[1] house, daintily seated on the river bank, which flows even to the walls of his house, which I went to see, and found in the outer court three or four hay-stacks, not far from the stable-door; this court is paved. There are also two other courts; the one a quadrangle. The house was built at twice. If his land were improved and well planted, it would yield him great revenue; for it is said he hath thirty-two manors and manor-houses, and eighteen abbeys. This town of Carick is seated upon the bank of a fine, pleasant, navigable river, but it is a most poor place, and the houses many quite ruinated, others much decayed; here is no trade at all. This hath been a town of strength and defence; it is walled about, and with as strong a wall, and that to walk upon, as is West Chester; the church in no good repair; nor any of the churches in this country, which argues their general disaffection unto religion. Here in this town is the poorest tavern I ever saw—a little low, thatched Irish house, not to be compared unto Jane Kelsall's of the Green at Handforth.[2] 'Twixt Waterford and this town are many spacious sheep-pastures, and very fair large sheep as most in England; the greatest part of the land hereabouts is converted unto this use.

July 22.—From this town I returned back to Waterford, fearing indeed lest the country disease should so far prevail upon me as to disable me to endure, whereas indeed immediately after my departure I did begin by degrees to recover, and was within a few days, and before my departure out of that kingdom, perfectly recovered, and my body rather inclined to be costive, but yet this did not continue with me above two days; and whereas I feared faintings by reason of sea-sickness, I thank God I was nothing subject thereunto, though I was never well at sea. Here, by promise, Mr. Needham of Hacquett's Town stood engaged to meet me, and sends in his stead Mr. Robert Cooke, an English gentleman who lives about one or two miles from this town, upon a farm called Tibruchne (as I take it), which is my Lord of [ ] land; he is my Lord of Ormond's uncle. He pays 120*l.* rent for this farm, and paid an 100*l.* fine; his term in it is twenty years or thereabouts. The quantity of the ground hereunto belonging, as he valueth and esteems it to be, about 1,000 acres English measure; but, upon my view and survey thereof, I could not judge it to be less than 1,200 or 1,400 acres. This is all good land, and a great part marsh land lying along the river in common and not enclosed, which, if it were but divided and enclosed, would yield more than the rent of the whole, and this would be a small charge to make only ditches; this is commodiously, sometimes and not over often, watered and enriched by this navigable great river, which runs all along this ground a mile or two.

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[1] James, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormond, whose talents and virtue are too well known and appreciated to require or admit of notice here.—E. H.

[2] Near Stockport in Cheshire.

Here I observed a very convenient seat [ ]. This was this day overflowed with the tide, by reason of a strong east wind concurring with this high St. James' flood; here abundance of fowl in winter. Here is a very fair, handsome English stone house, new built, and also a castle, to both which there comes up at every tide in a deep lough or channel sufficient water to carry a boat, and when the tide is gone out this is dry; so as if a net be placed in the mouth of it (which is but narrow) you may be thereby furnished with salmon, flookes, and other fish sufficient. There is now an Englishman tenant, who lives in the castle, who keeps a dairy and rents thirty kine from him, who keeps them summer and winter; for every cow he is to pay 1*l.* 10*s.* per annum, and half of the calves, all which are to be reared. I tasted of their milk, butter and cheese, and it was excellent good; I never drunk so good buttermilk. Here the milk is so good, as they churn that in the evening which was milked in the morning, so as the buttermilk is much sweeter and wholesomer; they never yet sold any cheese, only butter at 4*d.* a pound. Here I saw abundance of cheeses. Here is a town hereunto belonging, inhabited by Irish, who have no longer estate than from year to year; they pay neither here nor elsewhere no rent in money, only plough the ground to the parts, and allow the landlord a third part ; this is so slothfully and improvidently ordered as the ground is much impaired, and yields much less than if well husbanded. But these unprofitable commodities may be removed at pleasure, and without any manner of inconvenience, exclamation or exception. Mr. Robert Cooke, who now dwells here, affirmed that this farm would keep 120 kine and their increase, sufficiently plentifully, both summer and winter. There is one now tenant upon another part hereof who will take the whole one half of the farm, so much as is grazing ground for cattle, and will pay 90*l*. per annum ; and indeed Mr. Cooke is so honest a gentleman as I cannot but believe his report. He saith it will also keep five or six hundred sheep, as good fair sheep as are Leicestershire or Northamptonshire, and sufficient good corn land may be reserved as will employ two ploughs ; besides the moor, which is a rich marsh like Saltney,[1] will keep abundance of young cattle, horses and colts, and in my judgment this marsh land cannot be less than 400 acres. Herein although the salt water this day overflowed in my view, yet owlers [2] grow and prosper well ; hence you may go conveniently enough to Caricke to church, the church in this town being in decay. Mr. Cooke will part with his interest herein, and demands his 100*l*. fine and the rent of 120*l*. per annum ; the reason why he will part with his interest is because he hath a kinsman of his name partner with him, who fails in the payment of his part of the rent, for which his cattle was distrained.

July 23.—This day I rested at King's Head at Mr. Warde's and prepared barley water, cordials and perfumes to take to sea, to preserve me from fainting, whereunto I was nothing subject (I thank God) at sea or land. Herein I made use of and spent most of the afternoon with Mr. Jarvis Billiard, the apothecary, who showed me the best Mercator that ever I saw in my life ; and indeed before my departure hence I was freed from that indisposition.

July 24.—Next morning I went down to the passage, which was so thronged as I could not be furnished with convenient lodging: hard bed, without curtains, air or casements, a corn room. We lodged at the Bell—6*d.* ordinary—a most unquiet house at this time. The wind stood well for them (if they could have gotten out to sea) two or three days before, but it was so strong as they durst not adventure out of the river, for fear of being thrown upon some of the crooked points in this river.

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[1] In Flintshire.

[2] Alders.

July 25.—But upon St. James day the wind was sufficiently calmed, and stood fair, and they in 'The Whelp' discharged a piece of ordinance to summon us aboard very early, so I was constrained to go aboard without my breakfast. There I bought half a mutton, cost 3*s.*, and eggs seven a penny, and three pullets at 3*d.* apiece, but wanted a stomach to make use of any save eggs and pullets. About six hour I went aboard one of the King's ships, called the 'Ninth Whelp,' which is in the King's books 215 ton and tonnage in King's books.[1] She carries sixteen pieces of ordinance, two brass sakers, six iron demi-culverin drakes, four iron whole culverin drakes, and four iron demi-cannon drakes. They are called drakes. They are taper-bored in the chamber, and are tempered with extraordinary metal to carry that shot; these are narrower where the powder is put in, and wider where the shot is put in, and with this kind of ordinance his Majesty is much affected. This ship is manned with sixty men; the captain is Sir Beverley Newcomen;[2] lieutenant, John Newcomen; master, William Brooke; master's mate, William Purser, who hath lost an arm—a temperate, well-governed, and well-affected man; master gunner, Joseph Dudley; boatswain, corruptly called boseon, John Green; purser, Thomas Morgan; serjeant, Nathaneell Gilson; and indeed the most of the better sort of the rest civilised and well-governed men, and divers of them I observed attentive and diligent at prayer. We had (through God's mercy) a quick, pleasant, and dainty passage, for within twenty-six hours after we parted with Ireland, the utmost point I mean of Irish shore, we were landed at Minehead in Somersettshire. This is a most dainty, steady vessel, so long as she carries sail, and a most swift sailer, able to give the advantage of a topsail to any of the rest of this fleet, for whom we made many stays, and yet could not keep behind them, so as they did not put up all their sails as they otherwise might, but suited their course to the pace of this fleet, whom they waited upon to waft over from Waterford to Bristoll fair, and to guard them from the Turks, of whom there was here a fear and rumour that they were very busy upon the coast of Fraunce.[1] These are full of men, ordinance and small shot. This day we caused match to be made ready and prepared, and looked for them about Lundye next morning, but saw none, only it was the captain's care to see all the sail before him; for which end staying often, the vessel then (as also when she wanted sail) tottered and rolled intolerably; this did make me vomit extremely, and much more sea-sick than otherwise.

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[1] The *Ninth Whelp* was long on this station. She is frequently mentioned in the *Lismore Papers* as carrying the first Earl of Cork and his fortunes. It was the Earl's habit to recompense such services handsomely. 'Landed all safely at Bristol, August 4 (1638),' he notes, 'and I gave to the Captain Owens a fair sword, a silver belt, and all that was left of a hogshead of claret wine.'—*Lismore Papers*. The *Ninth Whelp* was lost at sea in 1640. *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1633–47.

[2] Sir Beverley Newcomen, Bart., of Kenagh, co. Longford, commanded the ships employed to guard the Irish coast at this period. In 1619 he had been granted the office of Admiral of Ireland. Sir Beverley was drowned in 1637 by the upsetting of a pinnace in which he went to sound Waterford Harbour. His only son perished with him. He represented Tralee in Strafford's Parliament of 1634. *Cal. S. P.* (*Ireland*), 1633–47, pp. 63, 95, 158.

Here the captain's cabin was taken up by Alderman Joanes, of Dublin, and Dr. [Tilson],[2] Dean of Christ Church in Dublin, who came in her by sea from Dublin to Waterford, and so thence for Bristoll; and the captain himself lodged in the master's cabin, so as I could not be accommodated with any more convenient cabin than the master gunner's cabin in the gun-room, but I could not endure under hatches, nor was I any longer in this cabin than about four hours in the night, during which time I could not rest; the ship tossed so exceedingly so as I thought it had been tempestuous, and yet was it very calm, fair and moon-shine night; and sometimes the waves flashed into the ship at the loop-holes at stern, so as I could not endure in bed longer than one watch, from ten to two hour, and then I arose and went to the hatches, and presently we discovered Lundye, which seems like a high rock in the sea, and is an island; this is accustomed to be the pirates' harbour and shelter, but now we could not discover any.

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[1] The descent of the Turks on another port in the south of Ireland, celebrated by Thomas Davis in *The Sack of Baltimore*, had occurred only three years earlier.

[2] Henry Tilson, Dean of Christ Church, 1634, consecrated Bishop of Elphin 1639. He was one of Strafford's chaplains.

The remarkable points, shores, sands, rocks and islands in this passage are these: on Washford side Dunkannon, which is a fort wherein my lord Esmond's company is desposed; and a low point whereon is placed the tower of Waterford, a white eminent conspicuous seamark; hence about four miles are two islands called the Saltes [Salteso]. On Waterford side is Crayden Head [Creaden Head], and the utmost point is called Horseleffes, so called from a shelf of sand. Hence to Lundy is about thirty leagues.

V

IRELAND UNDER THE RESTORATION

BY ALBERT JOUVIN, DE ROCHEFORT.

THIS description of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. is taken from a translation of a French original which appeared in the second volume of Grose and Astle's 'Antiquarian Repertory.' Both in the first edition of the 'Repertory,' which was issued in 1779, and in the second, published in 1809 by Edward Jeffery, the name of the French author is given as M. Jorevin de Rocheford, and the notes of the English editors constantly refer to the author as 'Monsieur Jorevin.' But though they state that the work was published in Paris in 1672, the editors nowhere mention its title. A diligent search through all available biographical and bibliographical dictionaries entirely failed to identify any such author, and this volume had already passed through the press before any further information regarding the book and its origin could be procured. It was only on the eve of publication that a visit to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris enabled the present editor to establish the writer's identity. None of the catalogues in the library contained the name Jorevin de Rocheford; but in Père Lelong's 'Bibliothèque Historique de la France,' 1778, mention was made of a work by Albert Jouvin, de Rochefort, published in 1672, in three volumes, each of two parts, of which the full title proved to be: 'Le Voyageur d'Europe; où sont les Voyages de France, d'Italie et de Maltre, d'Espagne et de Portugal, des Pays-Bas, d'Allemagne et de Pologne, d'Angleterre, de Danemark et de Suède': Par Monsieur A. Jouvin, de Rochefort: Dedié à Monsieur de Pomponne, Sécrétaire d'Estat. Paris, 1672. At pp. 472–93 of Part VI was found the original from which the translation here reprinted was made for the 'Antiquarian Repertory.' Beyond the description of the author in Lelong's catalogue as 'Trésorier de France' nothing further has been ascertained concerning M. Jouvin's career.[1]

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[1] The precise date of Jouvin's visit to Ireland, or indeed of any portion of his extended travels, is nowhere mentioned in his book. If he is accurate his tour must have taken place in June 1666, since the mutiny at Carrickfergus is known to have occurred in May of that year. But this inference is inconsistent with the prior mention in the English part of the Tour of the launch of the ship 'Charles' in the presence of Charles II. and his consort, an incident which Pepys has recorded under date March 3, 1667–8 (*Pepys's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, vii. 348). It is, however, certain that the Tour was made in the latter years of the Duke of Ormond's second tenure of the Irish Viceroyalty, which terminated in November 1668.

DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND AFTER THE RESTORATION[1]

By Jorevin de Rocheford.

Chester lies at the mouth of the river Dee, where it enlarges itself into the form of a gulf, in which by the assistance of the tide vessels come up to the town. On this account it may be reckoned among the good sea-ports, since it is the ordinary passage of the packet-boat, messengers and merchandise, going from England to Ireland.

The plan is nearly formed by two great streets, which cross each other in the middle, and as they are very broad at this crossing, they make a fine and spacious area, which serves for the market-place, in which is the town house. Turning on the right hand, the way leads to the great church, where I saw a tomb worth remarking. The wall on the bridge is very agreeable; the gate which shuts it in is like a strong little castle; there is then a suburb. Chester is esteemed one of the strongest towns in England, on account of its fine high walls, the many towers by which it is defended, and its strong castle, standing in the highest part of the town, which it commands. It has been much damaged during the late wars. Under the usurpation of Cromwell the town was almost entirely ruined, after having sustained a long siege. The first thing I did on my arrival at Chester was to learn when the packet-boat would sail for Dublin; it had set off some days before; but I found a trading vessel laden with divers merchandises, in which I took my passage for Ireland. This vessel was at anchor in the gulf, near the little village of Birhouse,[1] eight miles from the town. Here are some large storehouses for the keeping of the merchandise to be embarked for Ireland, as is generally done every month from hence to Ireland, and reciprocally from Ireland to England, from whence all the letters, the messengers, and vessels that are to pass go first to the village of Holeyd,[2] which is in the island of Mona or Anglesey, as a place of rendezvous, there being a very good harbour, from whence a boat commonly sets out for Dublin.

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[1] The following is the note prefixed by Grose to his reproduction of M. Jorevin de Rocheford's Travels:

'The descriptions of England, by Messieurs Perlin and De la Serre, which form the preceding article, show the opinion foreigners entertained of this country in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, as well as some of the prevailing manners and customs of those times. The reader, it is more than probable, will be glad to see the observations of other travellers on the same subjects at a later period. Under this supposition a translation is here presented of the travels of Monsieur Jorevin de Rocheford: at least, that part which treats of England and Ireland. This book was printed at Paris in 1672 in three volumes duodecimo, and is now extremely rare.

'Monsieur Jorevin, though far from a writer of the first rank, appears to have been rather superior to either of the gentlemen above mentioned; his abstract of our national history is false and ridiculous, even beneath criticism; but his descriptions of places, buildings, &c., seem to have been accurate, as they still retain striking likenesses of the respective subjects, notwithstanding the alterations which must necessarily have happened in the space of nearly a century and a half. In a word, though he is an indifferent historian, he is a tolerable topographer.'

I embarked, then, in this vessel, which set sail at four in the afternoon, the weather bad and rainy; on account whereof, after we got out of the gulf and the mouth of this river, within sight of the town of Flint and its strong castle, we chose not to expose ourselves much to the sea, when the wind was so furious and so contrary that it split all our sails, and obliged us to put out all our anchors, one of which broke as the storm augmented. This, together with the horrid spectacle of surrounding rocks, which seemed to threaten our destruction, threw us into great terrors, the sea seeming opening to swallow us up, without any resource. This lasted all the night, but the dawn of day brought us a stark calm, attended with rain, which ceased when the wind became fair, although this did not last long; for as we could not, for want of depth of water, pass the straits that lie between the land and the Isle of Anglesey, we turned round about to go to the village of Holeyd, distant from Chester more than sixty miles, to embark the merchandise and passengers, who come to this place as a rendezvous from England to go to Dublin, the capital town of Ireland. We anchored in this port; during which time we went to walk in the village and about the island, which seemed fruitful in corn. We saw the post arrive, who gave his packet to the captain of our ship. There were a good many persons who waited for a passage to Ireland. Among them was a young man who spoke a little French; he was a clockmaker, and had worked in the galleries of the Louvre in Paris; with whom, entering into some discourse, touching the skill and valour of the English, he said he should not fear two Frenchmen. 'It would not be,' said I (in answer to him), 'a man of your sort that could terrify me sword in hand,' when all on a sudden he drew his sword, crying out, 'Defend yourself.' Whilst I learned to fence at Rome, there were several English with whom I practised, whose faults I easily discovered; and, in fine, observing this young man assaulted me precipitately, by keeping always on the defensive, and considering his default, I retired a long way, which caused this young, giddy-headed fellow to throw himself almost out of all kind of guard. He had a sword of the French fashion, long and slender, that would not cut, which is the ordinary way of using the sword in England. Stopping, then, all on a sudden, I gave him a thrust in the under part of the right arm, which made him cry out to me, in the presence of many persons, who prevented me from killing him in the rage I was then in at being attacked by such a young coxcomb. I broke his sword on a rock, after having disarmed him, and he was blamed by all for having attacked me without cause. This did not prevent our embarking with a very favourable wind, which carried us that day to Dublin, a distance of fifty miles.

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[1] Perhaps Burton, eight miles from Chester.

[2] Holyhead.

DUBLIN.

Dublin is the capital city of the kingdom of Ireland, situated on the river Leffer,[1] where the tide rises near two fathoms, by which large barks are brought up to a quay in the middle of the town, and loaded vessels remain at anchor at its mouth, under cover of some high mountains, which run out into the sea in form of a promontory. We landed at the little village of Ranesin,[1] which is on the borders of that little gulf, from whence we entered into a great suburb, where stands the college of the University, which I visited after having found an inn at the Mitre, in the little part of the town,[2] separated by the river which runs through it. On the morrow, being accompanied by a French merchant who lived there, I went to see this grand college. I was introduced to the principal,[3] who was a man of great wit and learning. He showed me a fine library, in which were many very scarce books; among others he lent me that of Camdenus Britannicus, who has written the history and description of England, enriched with maps of every county and the plans of all the cities. This man was curious to hear me speak of the city of Paris, and of the French customs, and seemed astonished that out of mere curiosity I should come to see Ireland, which is a country so retired, and almost unknown to foreign travellers. He likewise showed me a fine garden, very well taken care of, wherein was a great parterre representing a sun-dial, and in the middle a tree that served for the gnomon. There was a vine nailed against the back part of a chimney exposed to the mid-day sun, and yet nevertheless its grapes never would ripen, the climate being too cold, which is the case with many fruit trees that cannot live here, or at least bring their fruits to maturity. In the garden is a very fine terrace, from which is a view of this great sea-port. I was shown from the terrace the mountain of Plinlimont,[4] which is in the principality of Wales, in England; the weather, it is true, was then very fine and clear. This grand college has two large courts, encompassed with lodgings; the schools are in the second, as also the church, where he showed me the tomb of a doctor who founded and endowed this university.[1] He afterwards invited me to dinner, where I had great pleasure, not so much for the good cheer, as because during that time he entertained me with the account of many fine things respecting the kingdom of Ireland.

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[1] Liffey.

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[1] Ringsend.

[2] Oxmantown.

[3] The Provost of Trinity College at this time was Dr. Thomas Seele. See Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*, 1591–1660, p. 253.

[4] The Welsh mountains are occasionally visible from the neighbourhood of Dublin—a presage always of bad weather. But Plinlimmon is certainly not within range at any time.

I returned him thanks, in leaving him to see the palace of the Viceroy, Monsieur the Duke of Ormont, uncle to the King, who has a fine court, and a suite altogether royal; among them are several French gentlemen.[2] This Castle is at one of the ends of the town, and within its ancient walls, which at present do not contain one third of its extent. The Castle is strong, enclosed by thick walls, and by many round towers that command the whole town; on them are mounted a good number of cannon. The court is small, but the lodgings, although very ancient, are very handsome, and worthy of being the dwelling of the Viceroy. The principal gate is in a great street, called Casselstrit, that runs from one end to the other of the town; in the middle of it is an open space in which the principal streets of Dublin meet. That of Aystrit[3] is fine; in it is the town-hall with a fine clock, which is before Christ Church. This great church seems to me to have been some abbey; the cloisters are converted into shops of tradesmen, and the abbey-house serves for the court in which pleadings are held. This same street passes by the open place called Fichsterit,[1] which is the fish-market, that terminates at one of the ancient city gates between two great towers, where are the two prisons. Beyond this is a great suburb, which is at present both the best and largest part of Dublin. A little river runs through the largest street, called Tomstrit,[2] wherein dwell several workmen of different trades for the conveniency of this rivulet, of which they make use, and that waters and cleanses all the suburb, the houses of which are fine and straight. I went to see the metropolitan church of St. Patrick, tutelar of all Ireland: it has been much damaged by thunder, and principally its high tower. There is an open spot used for the market-place like that called the Haymarket. Here is a large covered market-house. So that Dublin, with its suburbs, is one of the greatest and best-peopled towns in Europe, and the residence of all the nobility of the kingdom of Ireland. There is a stone bridge, which joins that small part of the town called Oxmonton to the greater. On that side which lies by the water is a great quay, where are the finest palaces in Dublin. I was there shown the ancient abbey of St. Mary, formerly, after that of Armagh, the richest in the whole island; at present only the ruins of it are remaining. I lodged in this suburb, from whence I often went to walk in the great meadows by the side of the river, contemplating the country and the situation of this famous town, which seemed to me to be near high mountains on one side, and on the other adjoining to a fine country, with this advantage that it is in the middle of the island of Ireland; so that the produce of the country may be conveniently brought thither from every part, as well as what comes by sea from foreign countries, with which, by the means of its port, it may traffic.

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[1] Dr. Luke Chaloner. See Dr. Mahaffy's *Epoch in Irish History*, chap. ii., and p. 383, note 2, *supra*.

[2] The impressions of another Frenchman, who visited Ireland in 1644, regarding Dublin and the Viceregal Court, have been recorded in the Tour of M. Boullaye le Gouz, edited in 1837 by T. Crofton Croker, as follows:—'There are fine buildings in Doublin; a college and many churches, amongst which is that of St. Patrick, the apostle of the country. In the choir are displayed the arms of the old English knights, with their devices. I went there on Sunday to witness the ceremonial attending on the Viceroy. I saw much that was really magnificent. On leaving the church there marched before him a company of footmen, beating the drum, and with match-locks ready for action. Then followed a company of the halberdiers, his body-guards, and sixty gentlemen on foot, with four noblemen well mounted, and the Viceroy in the midst upon a white Barbary horse.'

[3] By 'Casselstrit' is meant Castle Street, and by 'Aystrit' is meant High Street. M. Jorevin de Rocheford's shots at English street nomenclature are often odd enough. Thus, in the English part of his Tour, Hyde Park appears as 'Ayparte.' His account of this is characteristic: 'Among these (gardens) is Ayparte, which is the common walk and jaunt of the coaches of London, where we plainly perceived that the English ladies are very handsome, and that they know it very well.'—*Ant. Rep.* iv. p. 566.

One may go to the town of Kilkenny, which lies fifty miles from Dublin, to see the fine castle of Monsieur the Duke of Ormont, rich on every side with marble, and ornamented with many things so curious, that those who have seen it say that it surpasses many palaces of Italy. It is only ten leagues from Waterford, which is one of the good sea-ports of this kingdom, as are those of Wexford, Cork, Kinsale, Limerick and Galway, from whence sail every year many vessels, loaded with leather, butter, cheese, tallow, salt meat, and fish; as also with a kind of cloth manufactured in the country, which is very cheap, and is carried to Spain, Italy, and often to the American Islands, from whence a return is made of divers merchandises of those countries, as I have observed in several sea-ports of this kingdom, which is the richest of all Europe in things necessary for human life, but the poorest in money. This causes provisions to be so cheap, that butter and cheese are commonly sold at a penny the pound; a pound of beef, at the butchery, for eight deniers; veal and mutton a penny; a large salmon just out of the sea, threepence; a large fresh cod, twopence; a pair of soles, or quaviver, above a foot broad, a penny; an hundred herrings, threepence; so that one is served with flesh and fish in the best manner for twelvepence a day. In fine, this is the land of plenty. And, moreover, on the road, if you drink two pennyworth of beer at a public-house, they will give you of bread, meat, butter, cheese, fish, as much as you choose; and for all this you only pay your twopence for the beer, it being the custom of the kingdom, as I have experienced wherever I have been.

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[1] Fishamble Street.

[2] Thomas Street.

This island is between the degrees 51 and 56. It may be about 200 French leagues in length, and fifty in breadth. It has several large towns, great castles, and good sea-ports. They have suffered much in the last civil wars on account of religion, when they were almost all ruined, the inhabitants punished, and the rest banished from the kingdom for having resisted the will of their King, and persisted in following the Catholic religion, which was rooted in the hearts of many. These have been forbidden, upon pain of death, to return, for fear that the religion might in time revive, and little by little increase in the kingdom. In truth the Irish are naturally inclined to the Catholic religion ; there are even in Dublin more than twenty houses where mass is secretly said, and above a thousand places, and subterraneous vaults and retired spots in the woods, where the peasants assemble to hear mass celebrated by some priests they secretly maintain. I consider it as a fact that one third of the Irish are Catholics, wherefore if any Catholic prince was to attempt the conquest of Ireland, I believe he would be readily seconded by the inhabitants. On this account perhaps it is that there are garrisons in all the maritime places, and the entries and ports are always guarded. There are several great lakes, and large bodies of standing water in the middle of this kingdom, all full of fish ; and in some places very high mountains, such as those of Torne, Anna, [?] and those near the town of Armagh, which was formerly the capital of the kingdom, but has been ruined in the wars between the Protestants and Catholics, when it was burned, so that at present it is but a kind of deserted village. There are, however, among these mountains many great meadows, where a number of cattle are fed, for which the country seems more proper than for the growing of corn, so that many persons live on the produce of their lands, without having any intercourse with the towns ; on which account it is said by many, that in Ireland there are provinces inhabited by savages.

Ireland is commonly divided into four provinces : these are, Ultonia,[1] Connacie,[2] Lagenie and Momonie,[3] subdivided into their counties. There is but one principal and large river in all the kingdom, which is called Shannon. Those who would go from Dublin to London must take the great road from London to Bornek,[4] to St. Alban's, Dunsta,[5] Brigil,[6] Stanistritford,[7] Daventry, Couentru,[8] Colsid,[9] Lechefild,[10] Strone,[11] Nantich,[12] Chester ; here is the packet-boat and ordinary passage to Dublin, which is 120 miles ; so that from London to Dublin it is 270 miles, or 120 common French leagues.[1] Those who go from Dublin to Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom of Scotland, must take the way I did, along the sea-coasts by several little ports, where one may often meet with a passage for Scotland; although they say the packet-boat, which is the ordinary one, goes from Portpatrick, that consists of five or six houses near Olderflet,[2] six miles from Knock Fergus [Carrickfergus], and arrives at Donocady [Donaghadee], crossing an arm of the sea about fifteen miles broad. From thence one may go straight to Edinburgh, without going through the town of Glasco. This is the shortest way from Dublin, the capital of Ireland, to Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, being 200 miles, or 100 common leagues of France.

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[1] Ulster.
[2] Connaught.
[3] Leinster and Munster.
[4] Barnet.
[5] Dunstable.
[6] Brickhill.
[7] Stony Stratford.
[8] Coventry.
[9] Coleshill.
[10] Lichfield.
[11] Stone.
[12] Nantwich.

I left Dublin in my way to Scotland, and on my route passed through an agreeable country, having a view of the sea-coast and the towns of Sandré and Souldres,[3] where is a ruined castle. On the way we saw several of these small castles, all ruined in the last wars. I found afterwards some meadows, and many herds of oxen, cows and calves, which are not naturally large, the climate of this country being too cold, but when transported into a warmer country they become large and robust. From thence the road lies by Ardof,[4] and a castle near Bardelet.[5] In the inland parts of Ireland they speak a particular language, but in the greatest part of the towns and villages on the sea coast only English is spoken. At length I arrived at

DROGHEDA.

Drodaph[6] is one of the biggest and most populous towns in the kingdom, occasioned by her traffic on the sea, as well on account of the goodness and safety of its port, as of its being placed in a country full of all kinds of provisions, and situated on the river Boyne, bordered by two hills, whereof it occupies the greatest part, which makes it a very strong place, with a castle in the highest part of the town, on the side by which I entered, where it appeared almost in ruins; but the walls of the town are still entire and defensible; here is always a garrison, as in the most important place of the kingdom. Passing over a bridge, which joins this part of the town to the larger, you come to a great quay, bordered by vessels, which come hither from all parts of Europe. The tide here rises near a fathom and a half, and the river would be deep enough, and capable of bearing large vessels, if the entrance had not been greatly damaged, and almost stopped up by the sands which it brings with it from the mountains wherein it rises. From this bridge you come to a fine and broad street, which forms a square in its centre, which serves for a parade; here is the town-house, towards which tend most of the best streets in the town. I was there on a Sunday, and was told that if I was desirous of hearing mass, one would be said at two miles distance from the town. It would be astonishing to relate the numbers of Catholics that I saw arrive from across the woods and mountains to assemble at this mass, which was said in a little hamlet, and in a chamber poorly fitted up. Here I saw, before mass, above fifty persons confess, and afterwards communicate with a devotion truly Catholic, and sufficient to draw these blind religionists to the true faith. The chapel in which the priest celebrated mass was not better adorned than the chamber; but God does not seek grand palaces, He chooses poverty and pureness of heart in those that serve Him. This priest informed me that the Irish were naturally inclined to the Catholic faith, but that there were many in different parts of the kingdom who found great difficulty to perform freely the functions of their religion. He had studied long in France, and spoke the French language well. He told me the Irish Catholics did not eat either flesh or eggs on Wednesdays, Fridays, or Saturdays; that they followed the commandments of the Church, and of our holy Father the Pope, whom they acknowledged for chief of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church. This good man discoursed with me touching many difficulties there were in exercising the Catholic religion among the Protestants. He kept me with him for the space of half a day. Thence I returned to lodge at Drodaph. I left it on the next morning, and came into an open country, by a road almost all paved, to Doulers[1] and Keltron,[2] on a river, from whence you approach the sea-side, which you must follow, and afterwards pass over a river near Dondalk.

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[1] Much information concerning the communication between London and Dublin in early times has been gathered together in a series of papers contributed to the *Irish Builder* for 1897 by Mr. F. Elrington Ball, M.R.I.A.

[2] Olderfleet is at the extremity of the peninsula which forms the haven of Larne. Its castle, built by the Bissets, a Scotch family, dated from the reign of Henry III. Olderfleet was the scene of the landing of Edward Bruce and his army in 1315.

[3] Santry and Swords.

[4] Ardeath, in Meath.

[5] The identity of this castle is doubtful.

[6] Drogheda.

DUNDALK.

Dondalk is a small town, consisting almost of one great street, situated near the bank of a small river, which at high water has sufficient depth to bring vessels nearly up to the town, if the sands did not choke the entry. Near it are to be seen a chain of high mountains, which run out into the sea, where they form a promontory, seen in front on leaving the town after passing this river, over which there is no bridge. I never saw finer fish, and so great a variety as in the market of this little place. It must be owned that the coasts of Ireland and Scotland are the most abundant in fish of any in Europe. Water-fowl are frequently here taken in such quantities, and sold so cheap, as to take away the pleasure of sporting for them; for my part I will say that I could never have believed it, however it might have been affirmed to me, if I had not seen them in flocks on the sea-shore, and sometimes the air for leagues together darkened by these fowl. There are besides, in the interior parts of the country, several large lakes and pools full of fish. Among these in the province of Ultonie, that of St. Patrick's Purgatory is remarkable; it has a little island, where, near a convent, the voices of divers persons may be heard under a rock, groaning and lamenting like the souls of persons suffering in purgatory; therefore the inhabitants of the place say that St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, besought

[1] Dunleer.

[2] Castlebellingham.

God that He would cause the cries of the souls in purgatory to be heard here in order to convert the people to the Christian religion, whence this lake has been named St. Patrick's Purgatory, or the Purgatory of the Island.[1] One may from this judge, that in general fish is as plenty in the middle of the island as on the sea-coasts which surround it. It is saying everything to relate that navigators who frequent these parts, complain that their vessels are sometimes obstructed by the quantities of fish they meet with in their course.

It is a peculiarity in this island that there are no venomous animals, not even frogs, toads, lizards, spiders, nor any other kind, which is a mark of the purity and goodness of its air. Some persons have tried the experiment whether any creatures of this sort brought from other places would live here, but it is a certainty that they die as soon as they arrive in the country; and farther it is said, that the touch of a native of Ireland proves mortal to any of these animals in any foreign country whatsoever, and that a circle being made about any venomous creature with a stick which grew in this island, the animal will instantly die. Let not, then, the island of Malta boast of being the only island in the world which neither nourishes nor suffers any venomous animals, since we have that of Ireland so near to us which has this natural virtue, enjoyed by Malta only some little time, and that by a particular miracle of St. Paul, as the sacred history informs us, and as we have related in the voyage to Malta.

After having passed the little river at the end of Dondalk, you must ascend the high mountains which enclose the small town of Carlinfort;[2] these I left on my right, and on the left hand Armagh, distant about twenty miles from thence. It was formerly the capital town of this kingdom, and in Catholic times had an archbishopric, one of the four which are in this island, with over nine-and-twenty bishoprics: at present it is only a village, remarkable for the fine antiquities of an abbey and its handsome church, equal in size to the largest in all England. The way by these mountains is through a desert strewed with flint and other stones, from whence one sees on the left hand some valleys filled with cattle, where I passed a river, and farther on came down over a large wooden bridge, and arrived at Newry. A great gulf is formed here that brings vessels up to the town, which is situated on an eminence, extending to the river's side. Here I feasted on fish, which made me halt here for the space of two days, during which time I diverted myself with walking and visiting the environs. From hence I set out for the mountains by a desert road, covered with flint stones, to Braklen.[1] Continuing still by the mountains, I came to a river, from whence I arrived at Dromore, upon a river. They pretended to me that it was a good town, and had formerly a bishopric,[2] but there is no appearance of it. I remember I eat of a salad made according to the mode of the country, of I know not what herbs; I think there were sorrel and beets chopt together; it represented the form of a fish, the whole without oil or salt, and only a little vinegar made of beer, and a quantity of sugar strewed over it, that it resembled Mount Etna covered with snow, so that it is impossible to be eaten by any one not accustomed to it. I made my host laugh heartily in the presence of a gentleman, a lord of the town, on asking for oil to season this salad, according to the French fashion, and after having dressed it, I persuaded the gentleman to taste it, who was pleased to hear me speak of the state and customs of France. He had studied at Dublin, and told me he was extremely desirous of seeing France, and that before he died he would certainly make that voyage. He begged me to stay only eight days in his house, promising that I should pass my time in all sorts of pleasures and diversions, both of walking and the chase; that he rarely saw any strangers or Frenchmen pass through those parts, and he was still more astonished when I informed him that I came only out of curiosity, after having visited the most southern parts of Europe. He showed me many curiosities in his cabinet, as well as all the apartments of his castle, which were well furnished, and hung with tapestry. He knew not how sufficiently to entertain and make me welcome, in order to induce me to remain with him some days; but as I had resolved to prosecute my journey, I was obliged to thank and take leave of him. He conducted me a mile on the way, after which I got to Hilbara,[1] otherwise Tilburg, where there is a large castle, one of the finest in Ireland, situated on a river which runs out of a large pool, where I passed over a great causey, which finished where the mountains begin near Lenegiardin,[2] whose large castle and its garden are filled with wonders, like many others in the same town, which is on an eminence, the foot whereof is washed by the river. After this the country is but ill-cultivated, and corn dear.

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[1] In Lough Derg, co. Donegal. See note at p. 220 *supra*.

[2] Carlingford.

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[1] Loughbrickland.

[2] The traveller's astonishment at the aspect of Dromore is not surprising. The ancient Cathedral had been a ruin before the Reformation. Partly rebuilt in the reign of James I. by Bishop Buckworth, it was destroyed during the civil strife which followed the Rebellion of 1641. Jeremy Taylor who ruled the diocese at the time of this visit contented himself with building a modest church in lieu of a cathedral.

Few windmills are to be seen in Ireland. They eat here, as well as in some parts of Scotland, cakes called kets, which they bake on thin iron plates over a fire; being sufficiently baked on one side, they turn them on the other, till they become as dry as a biscuit. They are made without leaven, and sometimes so ill baked that a person who is not used to them cannot eat them; nevertheless throughout all the inns on the road no other sort of bread is eaten; however, they do not spare to cover them with butter, and thick cheese, here very cheap, costing only a penny per pound. The common people live chiefly on this, especially in places distant from the rivers and lakes. Afterwards I arrived at Belfast, situate on a river at the bottom of a gulf, where barks and vessels anchor on account of the security and goodness of the port; wherefore several merchants live here who trade to Scotland and England, whither they transport the superfluities of this country. Here is a very fine castle, and two or three large and straight streets, as in a new-built town. One may often procure a passage here for Scotland, but as I could not meet with one, I went to Knockfergus, which is at the entry of this gulf, and within eight miles of Belfast.

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[1] Hillsborough, co. Down. Not to be confounded with the earlier Hillsboro', co. Antrim, close to Belfast. See p. 370 *supra*.

[2] Lisnegarvey, the modern Lisburn.

CARRICKFERGUS.

Knockfergus is a strong town, and one of the most ancient in the kingdom; it is situated, as it were, at one of the ends of the island, at the entry of a gulf environed by mountains, whereby it is sheltered from the wind, having besides a port, enclosed by a great mole built with flints, composing a large quay in the form of a semicircle, by the side of which there are always a number of vessels. The entrance is defended by a huge castle on the sea-shore, elevated upon a rock, that renders it difficult to be scaled. There are garrisons in both the town and castle, as there are in all the strong places in Ireland. I was not disappointed in procuring a passage for Scotland, but the wind being contrary, obliged me to wait eight days, during which time I walked about all the environs of the town, and upon the sea-shore, which are very agreeable. I was well entertained here, both on fish and flesh, for a shilling a day, exclusive of my horse, which I had sent back to Dublin, where I hired him to this place. I nevertheless began to tire, being without company, or any person to discourse with, unless in the English language, in which I had great difficulty to make myself understood in a long discourse, as well as to understand what was said to me in the same tongue, wherefore my whole amusement was to walk and see the town, expecting the change of wind and weather. They took me into the great castle, which is enclosed by very thick walls, and defended by round towers placed all about it, having in the middle a large keep, or dungeon, over whose gate are many pieces of cannon; these command the city, and also the port. About a month before my arrival the garrison was in arms against the Viceroy, who had not paid them.[1] Being informed of this, he equipped six large ships of war and three thousand land forces, and besieged the castle, which resisted three months, without the guns being able to do anything; but provisions and ammunition failing, the mutineers were obliged to make conditions with the Viceroy, who caused five or six of the most guilty to be punished. At the distance of about an hundred paces in the city, near the sea-side, are still to be seen some old towers of an ancient castle. Another day I went to see the great palace, which is at one of the ends of the town. It is a great square pavilion, having, I think, as many windows as there are days in the year. The top is terraced, and surrounded with balustrades; the entry is handsome. You first come into the outer great court, surrounded with the officers' lodgings, having a gallery over it, from whence there is a view of the sea and all over the town; then you advance to a drawbridge between two little turrets, which accompany a small pavilion rising over the gate of the drawbridge; this leads from the first to the second court, and faces the grand edifice. Its staircase is admirable, and its gate or door much more so, on account of many pieces of sculpture and engraving with which it is ornamented. The town has properly but two principal streets; in the largest there is a market-place, where are the town hall and parade; a small river runs through the middle of it, and empties itself at the port, whither I often went to see if the wind had changed.[2]

The etymology of Knocfergus,[3] according to the opinions of many of the natives, comes from the embarkation made by the King Fergus for Scotland, from near that rock on which the castle stands; a rock being in the Irish tongue called Knock, or Karrick, which added to Fergus, the name of the King, gave the name of Knock Fergus, or Karrick Fergus, to this town.

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[1] The mutiny at Carrickfergus was of serious dimensions. See Carte's *Life of Ormond*, ii. pp. 325–7, and McSkimin's *History of Carrickfergus*. See also reference to the part played in suppressing it by the Irish Guards, Part I. p. 91, *supra*.

[2] See p. 368 *supra*, and see also the *Montgomery Manuscripts*, p. 424, note.

[3] See p. 368 *supra*, note 2.

I knew that the common passage for the post and packet-boat was six miles above the town, at a little village called Larne, and that formerly this passage was to Arglas and to Denocadi,[1] villages below Belfast; but for security, and finding an opportunity of passing from Knockfergus, or Karrickfergus, in Scotland, I would wait for proper wind and weather to do it. During my stay I saw the burial of the governor of the town, who was carried in procession about all the streets, followed by the most considerable burghers of the town, and all the officers and soldiers of the garrison, their arms trailing on the ground, with many trumpets playing sorrowfully and in a dismal tone, until they came into the church, where, after all these ceremonies, before he was put into the grave, they fired a general discharge on the spot where he was placed, in the middle of the church.[2]

As the water throughout England is in general unfit to drink, they make a sort of beer they call Smal Bir, or weak beer, for the servants and children, instead of water. It is made solely of what remains after they have drawn off the good beer, by the addition of water passing through the grains, which is afterwards well boiled up. This small beer is extremely proper to quench thirst and to refresh, but has neither strength nor nourishment.

The wind at length became favourable for leaving Knockfergus, from whence we kept the Irish coast for some time, until it was stark calm. This gave occasion to our sailors to observe, that it was a presage of our having presently a brisk gale; and in effect, early in the morning, so violent a wind arose that, though it was abaft, it obliged us to take in all our sails, and run into the great gulf of Dombritton,[3] at the entry of which there is the great rock Aliza.[4] The storm increased so much, that the sea often covered our vessel, and passed over it, threatening to bury us in its waves. This gulf is skirted by high mountains and bare rocks, whence we saw on the right hand Yroüen.[1] Towards the approach of night the wind began to abate, owing to some clouds portending rain and a change of wind, which came on with a fury, and in so tempestuous a manner that resistance was impossible, and in the little gulf of Krinock[2] our sailors were obliged to put out all the anchors they had, trusting to the mercy of God, in whom was placed all our hope. We arrived there after the storm was over, which both wetted and greatly fatigued our sailors, happy to get off so well. This town is the passage of the Scotch post and packet-boat to Ireland; its port is good, sheltered by the mountains which surround it, and by a great mole, by the side of which are ranged the barks and other vessels, for the conveniency of loading and unloading more easily. We made good cheer together, as companions of fortune. After which I left this town, and coasted the gulf of Dombritton.

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[1] Ardglas and Donaghadee.

[2] This must have been a deputy or Constable of Carrickfergus. The Governor at the time of de Rocheford's visit was Arthur, first Earl of Donegall, who survived till 1675.

[3] Dumbarton.

[4] Ailsa Craig.

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[1] Perhaps Arran is meant.

[2] Greenock.

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